EARLY AND MEDIEVAL COINS AND CURRENCY SYSTEM OF ORISSA

CIRCA 300 BC to 1568 AD



Snigdha Tripathy

PUNTHI PUSTAK

Calcutta : 1986

THE BOOK

The present work is first of its kind and fulfils a long felt desiteratum in the field of numismatic studies in Orissa. So far our knowledge about the early and medieval coinage of this part of our country had been very poor and fragmentary. A systematic and comprehensive study of the sporadic materials has been, for the first time successfully attempted in this work. It is based on the discovery of new facts and is both exhaustive and critical. It positively forms a valuable contribution to the study of numismatics and tends generally to the advancement of knowledge in this field.

The present study becomes more interesting for it covers the earliest punch-marked coins to the coins of the great Ganga dynasty and they are discussed at length. Data available from different sources including epigraphy and foreign travellers' accounts have been freely made use of by the authoress in reconstructing the history of coinage in Orissa. The value of the work is further enhanced by the large number of line drawings pertaining to symbols on the varieties of the silver punch-marked coins so far discovered in Orissa.

The work gives a succinct account of the coins and currency systems of ancient and medieval Orissa, and, apart from fulfilling the purpose as a standard work of reference it will no doubt serve as a standard work on the numismatic history of this part of our country.

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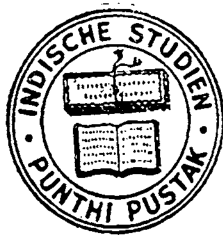
EARLY AND MEDIEVAL COINS AND CURRENCY SYSTEM OF ORISSA

ORISSA STUDIES PROJECT NO. 27

EARLY AND MEDIEVAL COINS AND CURRENCY SYSTEM OF ORISSA

(CIRCA 300 B.C. TO 1568 A.D.)

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Dedicated to

the memory of the Great Numismatists
E. J. Rapson and D. R. Bhandarkar
whose writings have been my
Greatest Source of Inspiration

PREFACE

This book virtually represents my Ph.D, dissertation, submitted to the Utkal University in 1982. Several numismatic as well as epigraphic materials have come to light since the thesis was written and such relevant materials as those substantially contribute to our knowledge of the numismatic history of Orissa, have been incorporated in the text.

Although scholars in other parts of our country have made considerable progress in the field of numismatic study, the field in Orissa, being almost untrodden, offers ample scope for a comprehensive study as the present one. It is an humble attempt, for the first time, to present a comprehensive study of the Orissan coins and currency system prevalent during the early and medieval period.

Besides an introduction, the work contains twelve chapters, followed by the conclusion and five appendices. Out of these twelve, as many as eleven are devoted to the study of coins and coin hoards discovered in Orissa and known to be in circulation through the ages. Each chapter covers the study of coinage, either of a major dynasty which ruled different parts of Orissa, or a particular type of coinage, introduced into this region by the trading communities in a particular period.

The first chapter deals with a systematic study of the symbology, fabric, weight standard as well as the peculiarities in the technique involved in the manufacturing of the silver Punch-marked coins, several hoards of which have been discovered in Orissa. Their bearing on the numismatic history of Orissa has also been discussed elaborately.

The second chapter discusses the problem of the alleged Satavahana rule on the basis of the numismatic and other antiquities discovered in Orissa.

The third chapter deals with the Kushāṇa coins and their imitations, the peculiar technique involved in their manufacturing and their bearing on the history of Orissa. Attempts have been made in this study to throw new light on the problems connected with these coins.

The gold coins of the Imperial Gupta rulers, the repousse type gold coins of the family of Śarabhapura, copper coins of Śrī-Nanda, gold coins of the Kalachuris of Tripuri and Ratnapura, the Nāgas of Chakrakoṭṭa and the Yādavas of Devagiri have been separately discussed in the subsequent six chapters, with their bearing on the Orissan numismatic history.

The Gaṅga-*fanams* in gold, frequently found in hoards throughout Orissa, have been discussed with a new line of approach, specifically on points of the peculiarities noticed on the coin devices. A fresh and detailed enquiry into the

attribution and chronology of these coins have been made. The weight standard and different denominations of this coinage have been critically analysed.

A fresh study of the so-called Gajapati-*pagoda* has been made in Chapter thirteen. Their metrology, the period and area of their circulation have been critically studied and conclusions on political and chronological importance have been drawn on a new line of approach, but not without subjecting the current theories to a critical investigation.

Chapter fourteen deals with the analysis of the currency and exchange prevalent in ancient and medieval Orissa. In spite of the vast and intricate nature of the subject, an analytical study of the currency and exch nge has been made in a comprehensive way.

The conclusion contains a summary of our findings on the coins and currency system prevalent during the period under study. Appendix I contains a short discussion on the discovery of a hoard of small coin type blank pieces in copper from Orissa. A large number of numerical symbols collected from several hoards of the so-called Gaṅga-*fanams* have been shown in the form of a chart in Appendix II. Appendix III gives a list of coin-names from the early and medieval epigraphical records of Orissa, indicating their bearing on the subject of the thesis. Appendix IV deals with some of the stray finds of the medieval and late medieval South Indian Hindu coins indicating their bearing on the socio-cultural history of Orissa. The Appendix V contains the critical analysis of certain medieval coins of uncertain attribution and their bearing on the numismatic history of Orissa.

The preparation of the work which has grown out of my research since 1977, gives me an opportunity to pay my sincere respect, gratitude and thankfulness to those who rendered me help in various capacities. It is my proud privilege to express my sincerest gratitude and respect to my esteemed teacher, Prof. K. S. Behera, Professor and Head of the Department of History, Utkal University, who had encouraged me to take up the present work and whose constant guidance and assistance made it possible for me to give the work the present form.

I also owe a deep debt of gratitude to the late Prof. D. C. Sircar, formerly Government Epigraphist for India, and Carmichael Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, for his kind help and guidance at the initial stage of this work. It is my misfortune that he could not live to see the publication of the book. I am also greatly indebted to Prof. A. M. Shastri of Nagpur University and Prof. K. C. Panigrahi of Berhampur University (Retd.), for their valuable suggestions from time to time.

The majority of the coins illustrated in the plates and referred to in the present work, belong to the collection of the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar.

I want to put on record my sense of gratitude to Dr. H. C. Das, Superintendent, Orissa State Museum, who kindly permitted to study these coins.

My sincere thanks are due to my senior collegues in the Orissa State Museum, Pandit Nilamani Mishra and Mr. B. Samal who have helped in their own way and have shown active interest in various stages of the preparation of the work.

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My sincere thanks are also due to Mr. B. D. Mohanty of the Orissa State Museum for his unfailing and ungrudging co-operation.

Last but not the least, my thanks are due to Sri Sankar Bhattacharyya Proprietor, Punthi Pustak, for taking immense pains in bringing out its timely publication.

Orissa State Museum,
Bhubaneswar
1985

SNIGDHA TRIPATHY

ABBREVIATIONS

ABORI	*Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.*
AI	*Ancient India.*
AIHT	*Ancient Indian Historical Traditions.*
Amara	*Amarakosha* by Amarasiṁha.
A.P.	Andhra Pradesh.
A.R.	*Annual Report.*
ASI, AR.	*Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report.*
Arth	*Arthaśāstra* by Kauṭilya.
ARSIE	*Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy.*
ASI	*Archaeological Survey of India.*
BMCAI	*Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum* (Ancient India) by John Allan.
Brihat	*Bṛihatsaṁhitā.*
B.S.	Bāṅgalā Samvat.
CAI	*The Classical Accounts of India* by R. C. Majumdar.
CAI	*Coins of Ancient India,* by A. Cunningham.
C.	Circular.
CA	*The Classical Age.*
CBKSO	*The Chronology of the Bhauma-Karas and Somavaṁśīs* by K. C. Panigrahi.
CCIM	*Catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum* by V. A. Smith.
Ch.	Chapter.
CHI	*Cambridge History of India, Ed.* by E. J. Rapson.
CII	*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.*
Comm	Commentary.
C.P.	Central Provinces.
DHNI	*Dynastic History of Northern India* by N. C. Ray in 2 volumes, Calcutta, 1931 and 1936.
DMO	*Dynastics of Medieval Orissa* by B. Misra, Calcutta, 1933.
EA	*Epigraphia Andhrica.*
EC	*Epigraphia Carnatica.*
EHD	*Early History of Deccan* by G. Yazdani.
EI	*Epigraphia Indica.*
Fig.	Figure.
G.E,	*Gupta Era.*

Govt.	Government.
HCSI	*History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, Madras, 1937.
HCIP	*History and Culture of Indian People*.
Hist. Geog. and Dyn. Hist. of Orissa.	*Historical Geography and Dynastic History of Orissa*, by D. K. Ganguli.
IA	*Indian Antiquary*.
IC	*Indian Culture*.
IC	*Indian Coins* by E. J. Rapson.
IHC	*Indian History Congress*.
IHQ	*Indian Historical Quarterly*.
IMC	*Indion Museum Catalogue*.
IMP	*Inscriptions of Madras Presidency*.
INC	*Indian Numismatic Chronicle*.
IQ	*Inscriptions of Orissa*, in 6 volumes.
JAHRS	*Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*.
JAIH	*Journal of Ancient Indian History*.
JAS	*Journal of the Asiatic Society* (Letters).
JASB	*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.
JASB(NS)	*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (*Numismatic Supplement*).
Jat	*Jātaka*.
JBORS	*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*.
JBBRAS	*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*.
JBRS	*Journal of Bihar Research Society*.
JESI	*Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India*.
JIH	*Journal of Indian History*.
JKHRS	*Journal of the Kalinga Historical Research Society*.
JNSI	*Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*.
JOH	*Journal of Orissan History*.
JPASB	*Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.
JRASB	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*.
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London*.
JUPHS	*Journal of the Uttar Pradesh Historical Society*.
MAR	*Madras Archaeological Report*.
Mac. Mss.	*Mackenzie Manuscripts*.
MASB	*Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.
MASI	*Memoirs of the Archaeologieal Survey of India*.
Matsya	*Matsya-Purāṇa*.
MER	*Madras Epigraphical Report*.
Mbh.	*Mahābhārata*.

M.P.	Madhya Pradesh
MSS	*Manuscripts.*
NDI	*Nellore Districi Inscriptions.*
Num. and Ep. Stud	*Numismatic and Epigraphical Studies,* by D. C. Sircar.
NC	*Numismatic Chronicle.*
NS	*Numismatic Supplement.*
Num-Dig.	*Numismatic Digest.*
OHRJ	*Orissa Historical Research Journal.*
OUBK	*Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings* by B. Misra.
Peri	*Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*
PAPDI	*Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India,* by P. C. Bagchi.
Pol. and Adm. Syst.	*Political and Administrative System of Early and Medieval Iudia,* by D. C. Sircar.
PASB	*Proceednigs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*
Proc. Hyd. Arch. & Hist. Soc.	*Proceedings of the Hyderabad Archaeological and Historical Society.*
PHAI	*Political History of Ancteat India* by H. C. Raychoudhuri.
PHSSKO	*Political History of the Somavaṁśī kings of South Kosala and Orissa* by S. R. Nema.
PIHC	*Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.*
Proc. Or. Conf.	*Proceedings of Oriental Conference.*
R.V.	*Rig Veda.*
Rec.	*Rectangular.*
S.	Squire.
Sat. Brahmana	*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.*
SBE	*Secred Books of the East.*
S.D.O.	*Sub-divisional Officer.*
SII	*Soutn Indian Inscriptions.*
SI	*Select Inscriptions,* Vol. I by D. C. Sircar.
SI	*Studies in Indology* by V. V. Mirashi.
SCAMI	*Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India,* by D. C. Sircar.
SK	Sanskrit.
Trans.	Translation.
UUHO	*Utkal University, History of Orissa* Ed. by N. K. Sahu.
YCTI	*On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India* by Thomas Watters.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

The importance of coins in reconstructing the early history of a country like ours, where no regular historicul chronicles of the early periods are available, needs no emphasis. Numismatics, be defined as study of coins, medals, tokens or objects closely resembling them in form or purpose, especially from the archaeological or historical standpoint, or in other words, as a science of coins, has been recognized by scholars as a major source of ancient Indian history. In fact, coins throw very valuable light on different aspects of ancient Indian life, connected with politics, administration, society, economy, religion, art and culture. The study of numismatics is as important as epigraphy itself and some of the gaps in the history of ancient period are, in fact, filled up by the ancient period are, in fact, filled up by the ancient coins issued by a number of both monarchical and republican states in India. The existence of the Greek settlements in the north-west part of India before Alexander's invasion and the chronology of the Kushāṇa kings of Northern India, are some of the instances, which have been determined by scholars with the help of ancient coins. The existence of the republican states side by side with the monarchical forms of Government in ancient India, as known from the *Mahābhārata*, is corroborated by their coins. Even in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Kalhaṇa has recognized coin as a primary source, during the 12th century A.D. Gradually scholars of Indian numismatics are realizing the great future in this field of study and are taking greater interest in it. A number of foreign and Indian scholars bave published monographs on some of the early and medieval Indian coins and considerable progress has been made in the field of regional numismatic studies, in various parts of India.[1]

But, unfortunately, numismatics has remained a neglected subject of study and research in Orissa. The early history of Orissa has been more or less dealt with by a number of scholars such as, A. Stirling[2], W. W. Hunter[3], R. L. Mitra[4] and

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1. Cf. A. V. Narasimha Murthy, *The Coins of Karnataka*, Mysore, 1975 ; P. C. Roy, *The coinage of Northern India*, New Delhi, 1980 ; B. D. Chattopadhyaya, *Coins and Currency System in South India*, New Delhi, 1977 ; P. L. Gupta, *Coin Hoards from Maharashtra*, 1970, etc.
2. *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV, 1825.
3. W. W. Hunter, *Orissa*, (2 Vols.), London, 1872.
4. R. L. Mitra, *Antiquities of Orissa*, (2 Vols.), 1875, 1880.

others since the 19th century and mainly based on the art and literature. But none of them have utilised the numismatic evidence. It was in 1930, that R. D. Banerji, for the first time referred to some of the coins discovered in this region, as a source material for his work.[5] The attempts of the earlier numismatists like Walter Elliot[6], John Allan[7] to identify the so-called Puri-Kushāṇa coins discovered in Orissa, were mainly speculative. Thus the scholars did not make any attempt to analyse the numismatic materials of Orissa for the reconstruction of the ancient history of the region. Although considerable progress has been made in the field of numismatic study in other parts of India, the field in Orissa has remained almost untrodden offering ample scope for a comprehensive study as the present one. In the numismatic map of India, Orissa occupies a no less important place. But the coins of Orissa, have so far remained confined to a few pages in the form of stray articles in some learned journals or merely noticed in the general Indian history. The need for a comprehensive study of the Orissan coins, is therefore, genuinely felt by the scholarly world. An humble attempt is made here, for the first time, to present a comprehensive study of the Orissan coins and currency system during early and medieval period.

The Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar, has priceless hoards of coins, collected over many years from all parts of Orissa. Its collections, among others, include, the silver punch-marked coins, the earliest known coinage of the Indian sub-continent, gold coinage of the Imperial Kushāṇas and the imitation Kushāṇa coppers or the so-called Puri-Kushāṇa coins, the gold coins of the Gupta monarchs, local issues in gold of the dynasties like the family of Śarabhapura, the Kalachuris of Tripuri and Ratnapura, the Nāgas of Chakrakoṭṭa, small but representative collection of the gold coinage of the Yādavas of Devagiri and the large hoards of the so-called Gaṅga-*fanams*. Besides, there is a large collection of coins of uncertain attributions from various parts of Orissa which have remined unnoticed and a very few of them have been studied by competent scholars. In fact, no systematic survey and study of the coins, discovered in Orissa, have been undertaken so far. A separate study of the coins of Orissa would definitely add to the study of coins in India in general.

The main object of this thesis is to give a critical account, from the historical as well as technical points of view, of all the known coinages of ancient and medieval Orissa, beginning with the earliest times down to the 16th century A.D., coinciding with the end of the Sūryavaṁśī Gajapati rule. The work deals with only

5. R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, pp. 111-14 ff.
6. *The Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, (New Series), No. 7, 1858, pp. 75-78.
7. *BMC, AI*, pp. 205-209.

such coins which belonged to or have actually been found in Orissa. The objective is not to prepare a detailed catalogue of coins, but to ascertnin afresh the problems of chronology and dynastic affiliations of the coin-types found in Orissa, in the broader context of Indian history. A historical and analytical stud of the currency system prevalent in ancient and medieval Orissa have also been made in the present work, which may be helpful in the study of the early and medieval structure of economy. In dealing with this problem, not only the numismatic material, which is the main source, but also other sources, particularly epigraphic and literary have been drawn upon. The contribution is mainly based on the coins preserved in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar ; references have also been made to the private coin collections discovered in Orissa and the collections of other branch museums of the state.

Epigraphical records of early and medieval Orissa mention various coin names of gold, silver and copper, which seem to have been prevalent in this region from a remote past. To identify the coins discovered in Orissa with these epigraphical data is a difficult task, but attempts have been made here for the first time to identify at least some of them.

Unfortunately, Orissa does not possess such historical literature in the early and medieval period which can provide us information regarding the currency history of the province. We have to depend solely on the coins discovered in different parts of Orissa and occasional reference to some coin names in the epigraphical records. Of course, the theoretical basis for discussion on the coins found all over India, such as the silver punch-marked coins, is to be found in the epics, the Buddhist literature, the works of Pāṇini, Kauṭilya and others as well as those of the ancient *Smṛiti* writers. There are other later traditions of weights and measures recorded in the mathematical works like Bhāskarāchārya's *Lilāvatī* (c. 12th century A.D.) which was accepted as a standard work on the system of weights and measurements of metallic money prevalent throughout the country during the early medieval period. During the medievel and late medieval period, this work was translated into different regional language as is evidenced from the availability of a number of palmleaf manuscripts on this work in Oriya language.[8] Other literary works like Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (c. 12th century A.D.), Jīvadevāchārya's *Bhaktibhāgavata* (c. 15th century A.D.)[9] are made use of in the

8. N. Mishra, (Ed.), *Alphabetical Catalogue of Palmleaf Manuscrspts*, Vol. II, Nos. 4606, 4607, 4617, etc.
9. Ibid., Nos. 4025, 4026.

present study to throw light on the coins and currency system of Orissa. Mādalā Pāñji[10], the palmleaf chronicle of the Jagannātha temple, although cannot be much relied upon for the study of the political history of Orissa, can furnish important data on the currency system prevalent during the Gaṅgas and Sūryavaṁśī rule and in the subsequent period.

References have also been made to some of the accounts of the foreign travellers who have left valuable information on the currency system prevalent in different parts of the country. The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* of about first century A.D., the accounts of the celebrated Chinese pilgrims Fa-hien (c. 5th century A.D.) and Hiuen Tsang (c. 7th century A D) give us information on the large scale circulation of cowries as money along with metallic money in different parts of the country. That the cowries were used in commercial transactions in Orissa, as in other parts of India down to the advent of the Britishers, is known from the accounts of the foreigners like Thomas Bowry.[11]

Though the inscriptions, literature and foreign accounts give us glimpses of the currency system as well as the economic history of Orissa through the ages, they do not supply us clear information on the subject, as they differ from each other on certain points, particularly on actual circulation of coins. The actual specimens alone confirm and exemplify important historical facts known from other sources. So the coins constitute the main source of our information, which have helped us to supplement and corroborate information gathered from other sources.

Certain general difficulties pertaining to the present work may be briefly enumerated here. One of the chief problems is that, in spite of the Treasure Trove Act of 1878, the general tendency of the people is to melt the coins of precious metals as soon as they are discovered, for purposes useful to them. This is the main reason for which gold and silver coins seldom come to the notice of the scholarly world. The small number of gold coins of the Kushāṇas and the Guptas which have so far come to the notice of the numismatists has made it difficult to determine satisfactorily, their circulation as currency on historical lines.

Another problem is that, though informations on the provenance of certain type of coins of recent collections are available, our knowledge about the find spots of the bulk of material collected over long period of time is very scanty. This lack of knowledge of the provenances of the coins is mainly responsible particularly in the case of coins of lesser value, such as copper and lead, where the legends are

10. A. B. Mohanty (Ed.), *Mādalā Pāñji*, Prachi Samiti, Cuttack, 1940.
11. R. C. Temple (Ed.), *A Geographical Accounts of the Countries Round the Bay of Bengal (1666 to 1669)*, 1905.

often illegible and their metrology is of little help for their proper attribution.

There is also the problem of attributing certain coins to be the issues of Orissan rulers. Proper attribution to specific kings, dynasties or to a specific period of time is made difficult by the absence of legend on certain coins which have been discovered in Orissa. Moreover, there is the paucity of other evidences to corroborate our assumption on the proper attribution of coins. Although the medieval epigraphical records supply rich varieties of coin names, then prevalent in Orissa, the early epigraphs do not reveal adequate materials to know the early coinage of this region. The epigraphical records invariably refer one particular type of coin under different names on different occasions, in most cases, names indicating only in a general sense of coined money. Even when coin types are mentioned specifically, it often becomes difficult to relate the epigraphic names to the actual available specimens. There is also the problem to determine the minting authority during the early stage of coinage in Orissa, although in the subsequent period, the available specimens are known to be dynastic issues.

But, perhaps a more important problem is that, despite frequent references to metallic money in early medieval epigraphs, actual archaeological evidences relating to such coins seem to be so far unknown. While the early medieval royal families are not yet known to have issued any coin of their own, the available actual specimens atleast some of the varieties are known to be of foreign issues, i.e., coins issued by dynasties outside the Orissan territory, which seem to be in circulation along with the Orissan coins during this period. However, the possible sources have been referred to which mention such coins and attempts have also been made to find out the possible period and area of their circulation in Orissa. Moreover, there is also the difficulty of determining the value relationship of coins of different metals prevalent in a given period, particularly. during the early medieval period. The details on this point as well as on the defused minting authority during early medieval period is not at the present state possible to know from any other sources. However, attempts have been made, wherever possible, to find out a solution, by a critical analysis of the currency system of early and medieval Orissa.

Since the present study involves the coins of Orissa from ancient times, it would be better to mention here a short historical geography of the present Orissa State through different phases of history. The present State of Orissa extends from 17° 34′ N to 22° 34′ N latitude and from 81° 29′ E 87° 29′ E longitude on the eastern coast of India. It is now bounded by the State of West Bengal on the north-east, Bihar on the north, Madhya Pradesh on the west, Andhra on the south and the of Bengal on the east. It was mainly divided into five geographical units known

as Kaliṅga, Tosala or Tosali, Oḍra, Utkala and Kosala or more appropriately, Dakshiṇa (south) Kosala, during different period of history. We come across these territorial division, constituting the ancient and medieval Orissa, in the literary and epigraphical records. Kaliṅga, during Aśoka's invasion (260-61 B.C.) probably denoted the major portion of Orissa, having two divisions, viz., Tosali and Samāpā. Tosali, is known from several early medieval epigraphical records, to have divided into two parts, viz., Uttara (Northern) Tosali and Dakshiṇa (Southern) Tosali. Northern Tosali included the northern portion of the present Cuttack district, the district of Balasore and parts of southern Midnapore district, now in West Bengal. Dakshiṇa Tosali included Puri district together with parts of Ganjam and southern part of Cuttack districts, Kaliṅga during early medieval period denoted the area comprising parts of the present Ganjam district and the northern part of the present province of Andhra. The name Oḍra or Uḍra and Utkala during this period, denoted the north-eastern part of the present Orissa State (Balasore and Cuttack districts) with parts of Midnapore district. Dakshiṇa or South Kosala denoted the western part of Orissa, comprising the present districts of Bolangir, Sambalpur and Kalahandi in Orissa and the former Chhattisgarh division (Raipur-Bilaspur districts) of Madhya Pradesh. It may be pointed out here that the boundaries of these territorial units changed at different periods of history with the rise and fall of different royal families occupying these areas.

Besides the above main division, the early and medieval epigraphical records also reveal that there were smaller territorial units within these divisions, under the control of different semi-independent royal families. Some of these territorial units are Koṅgada-*maṇḍala*, Khiñjali-*maṇḍala*, Yamagartta-*maṇḍala*, Airāvaṭṭa-*maṇḍala* etc. It was during the 12th century A.D , the whole of ancient Kaliṅga country along with the coast land of Oḍra and Utkala and Dakshiṇa Kosala was united and came under the rule of the Gaṅga dynasty of the Imperial line. The present name of Oḍiśā came to denote the entire Oriya-speaking area with the rise of the Imperial Gaṅgas and this was continued during the subsequent period under the Sūryavaṁśī Gajapatis.

CHAPTER ONE

PUNCH-MARKED COINS

The punch-marked coins are the earliest available and known system of coinage which constitute the most extensive monetary system of ancient India. It was so extensive and wide-spread that numerous hoards and stray finds of these coins have been discovered throughout the length and breadth of the country. Both European and Indian numismatists have tried to unravel the problems connected with the punch-marked coins. Still many problems have not been solved, in spite of extensive research on them.

The name "punch-marked" is used in English for these coins to denote the peculiar technique of manufacturing them in ancient period. The name was first used by Prinsep.[1] The symbol are punched on the coins separately and not by die-striking and hence the name. Flat sheets of metals were cut into stripes of varying breadth and then those stripes were cut into required shape with approximate weight. Later on various symbols were punched on those blank pieces. For adjusting the actual weight, these pieces were later on clipped off on the edges. Thus the punch-marked coins, in most cases became irregular in shapes, such as square, octagonal, oblong, oval, circular, rectangular and with uneven sides.

Types of the punch-marked Coins

Punch-marked coins are known to have been discovered in silver and copper[2], although in Orissa, only silver pieces are known so far. In fact, the largest number of the punch-marked coins, with which most of us are familiar, are silver pieces, bearing five bold symbols on the obverse and one or more minute symbols on the reverse. Most of the punch-marked coins in silver found throughout the country, belong to this type. They are very often found in big hoards and most of the researches on punch-marked coins so far made, relate to this type. These coins, often have their respective series, types, varieties according to their symbol combinations and fabric. It may be pointed out here that most of the hoards of silver punch-marked coins found so far in Orissa, belong to this type.

Apart from the above type of the silver punch-marked coins, another less known type has also been discovered in Orissa. These coins of variant weights and shapes,

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1. *JASB*, 1835, Vol. IV, p. 627.
2. The copper punch-marked coins are known to have been discovered in U.P. and Bihar and in other parts of India. But they are much rare than the silver punch-marked coins and confined to certain localities, Cf. Allan, *BMCI*, pp. LXXVIII-LXXIX.

bear four constant symbols punched on the obverse and blank reverse. They are generally found confined within the region around Bolangir-Sambalpur districts in western Orissa which comprised within the ancient territorial unit of South Kosala.

In order to make an exhaustive but scientific study of the various aspects of the above two types of coins, scholars have termed on the basis of the symbols punched on these and also on their fabrication, "Local punch-marked coins" and "Imperial" or "Universal" punch-marked coins. The "Imperial" or "Universal" series of punch-marked coins as stated above, are known to have been discovered in large numbers from all over the country and they are taken to have succeeded the "Local punch-marked" series which are also generally known to be the earliest coinage of India. The "local" series are also konwn as the *Janapada* coins are generally found confined within a particular area of the country. Several varieties of "local" series with a particular group of symbols are reported to have been discovered in many places of India. Finds of this series of each locality contain coins of its own type, different from one locality to the other in fabric, weight, metrology and symbology. Local punch-marked coins have been found in the areas which comprised within the ancient *Mahā-Janapadas* and coins of each *Janapada* differ from the other in respect of their fabric and symbology. Thus the local series of punch-marked coins found in the western part of Orissa are known to scholars as the coins of the Kaliṅga *Janapada*[3], although they should better be designated as the Dashiṇa Kosala type and attributed to the coinage of Dakshiṇa Kosala *Janapada*. They differ from the coinage of the other *Janapadas*, such as Uttara Pañchāla, Dakshiṇa Pañchāla Magadha, Surasena, Vatsa, Kosala, Kāśī, Malla, Āndhra, Asmaka, Mulaka, Surāshṭra, Gāndhāra, etc.

Finds

As regards the "local" or *Janapada* type of punch-marked coins found in Orissa, reference may be made to a hoard of 162 coins (Hoard No. 1) reported to have been found in the Sonepur Sub-division of Bolangir district.[4] At Sisupalgarh, near Bhubaneswar two similar type coins were found during the excavation undertaken by the Government of Orissa in 1966 and now they are preserved in the State Museum. They have become very much worn out and reported to have been found at the level attributed to c. 2nd century A.D.[5] Apart from these two finds, coins of this type are

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3. P. L. Gupta, "Economic Data from Punch-marked Coins" in A. M. Sastri (Ed.), *Coins and Early Indian Economy*, p. 43.
4. *OHRJ*, Vol. pp. 27-30 ff. ; *JNSI*, Vol. XV, Part I, pp. 54-60 ff. Though it is said that, altogether 160 coins of this type were brought from Sonepur, only 150 coins, however, are kept in the State Museum, Bhubaneswar. B. B. Nath who published this hoard in the above journal has given no clear indication of the actual history of discovery and mentioned that some of these coins were found in the vicinity of Sonepur town and some at Baidyanath in Bolangir district.
5. A. Joshi, *New Light on the Cultural Heritage of Orissa*, pp. 37-39.

frequently reported to have been found at several places of the former Chhattisgarh division of the Madhya Pradesh.[6] Stray finds of them are also frequently known in the Mahānadī river valley in Bolangir and Sambalpur region of Orissa.[7]

These so-called "local" punch-marked coins have four symbols in common on one side only and the reverse is blank. They have been prepared out of thin sheets of silver. The shape of the coins are irregular, some of them being rectangular, some are square whereas some show uneven sides due to clipping off the metal, probably to adjust the weight standard. Their weights vary from 1.231 to 1.360 grams (19.2 to 21 or 22.5 grains as mentioned by B. B. Nath). The symbols on these coins illustrated in Plate I, are four in number viz., (1) elephant facing left with a small dot at the back, (2) a bull to the left with a small dot near the mouth, (3) a solid oval surrounded by dots and (4) two balls yoked in a plough.

It is interesting to note here that some of the similar type coins found in various parts of Chhattisgarh vary in weight from 1.1823 gms. (18.24 grains) to 0.4654 gms. (7.11 grains)[8]. Another hoard of 92 coins of this type found in the Balaghat district of the Madhya Pradesh contain coins weighing from 1.1773 gms. (18.17 grains) to 1.0254 (15.82 grains).[9] The metrology or the standard of weight and the symbols on these coins present various problem to the numismatists.

Scholars have tried to identify these coins with *Śāṇa* of the ancient Indian literary texts, which is one-eighth of a *Śatamāna*. They have diametrically opposed views on the weight standard of the coin denominations *Śatamāna* and *Śāṇa* on the basis of the confused references in the ancient texts.[10] Pāṇini, (5th century B.C.) in his *Ashṭādhyāyī* mentions *Śatamāna* as a coin denomination and its one-eighth sub-division *Śāṇa*[11] and his reference to it indicates that *Śatamāna* was a silver coin weighing probably 100 *ratis*, the basic unit of which was *Māna*, weighing one *Kṛishṇala* or *Raktikā* seed (modern *rati*), the black-spotted red seed of the *Abrus Precatorius*. But in a later period, the *Smṛiti* writers mention the silver *Śatamāna* (otherwise called *Pala* or *Nishka*) weighing 320 *Ratis* (560 grains) the basic unit of which being *Māna* weighing 3.2 *ratis*.[12] The one-eighth divivsion of it, otherwise called *Śāṇa* weighed 40 *ratis*, according to this weight system. But according to earlier works the weight of a *Śāṇa* was 12 and ½ *ratis* (22.5 grains) as the *Śatamāna* weighed 100 *ratis*. It is significant to note here that the punch-marked coins under discussion do not strictly conform to this weight standard.

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6. *JNSI*, Vol. XIX, Part II, pp. 108 ff.
7. Some of these coins reported to have been discovered in the vicinity of Sambalpur are now preserved in the Sambalpur University Museum, Burla.
8. *JNSI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 108ff.
9. *Ibid*, p. 109.
10. D. C. Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins*, pp. 48-72.
11. Pāṇini, *Ashṭādhyāyī*, V, 1.27 ; V, 1.35 ; the reference to *Śāṇa*, i.e., one-eighth of *Śatamāna* is also found in the *Mahābhārata*, *Vanaparva* 134, 14.
12. *JNSI*, Vol. XV, p. 22.

The coins of the Sonepur hoard, which weighed between 19.8 to 21 grains, only show a slightly nearer to the suggested theoretical weight i.e., the 100 *ratis* weight standard of *Śatamāna*. But the similar type of coins from other finds[13] do not exceed 18.7 grains and none of them has the weight nearer to the theoretical weight prescribed for *Śāṇa*. They are also so well preserved that they do not indicate any major loss of weight due to long circulation, which may corroborate the supposition of the scholars on the identification of *Śāṇa* with these coins. The differences in weight between individual as well as between hoards of these coins, indicate that the various weight standards mentioned in the early Indian literary texts were not strictly followed in their manufacturing. Moreover, clipping off the metal from the pieces by the dishonest people may be another reason for the difference of weight between individual coins. Further, as will be discussed later on, it is now observed on evidence from various sources that these sliver coins were not used in commercial transactions by calculating their individual weights which widely varies from each other, but by weighment according to the theoretical weight standard prescribed in ancient literary texts for *Śatamāna* or *pala*.

Another variety of the "local" type punch-marked coins, discovered from Siṅgavaram in the Krishna district of Andhra Pradesh[14] have close similarity with the present type under discussion. They also bear four symbols, but differ in fabric. Some of the coins bear symbols of elephant and solid ovals surrounded by dots as on the present coins under discussion, while others have two other symbols in common, such as the elephant and two bulls yoked in a plough. These coins are generally taken to be the local issues of the Āndhra *Janapada*. The period of their circulatien seems to be the same as that of the present coins and apparently, it suggests that both types, current simultaneously in two different areas of the country, influenced each other at least in respect of their symbology, Āndhra being a neighbouring *Janapada* to Kosala.

Some scholars have taken the present coins of the "local" punch-marked type as the coinage of the Kaliṅga *Janapada*.[15] But it should be pointed out here that not a single coin of this type has so far been discovered in the Kaliṅga region. A stray find is known only from Sisupalgarh near Bhubaneswar. Their frequent and exclusive find in the region comprising within eastern part of Madhya Pradesh and Sambalpur-Bolangir region of Western Orissa, which formed the ancient South Kosala, would suggest that these coins formed the earliest local coinage of this area. They may better be called the coinage of the Kosala *Janapada*. The discovery of two such coins at Sisupalgarh in the coastal

13. *JNSI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 107-14. These coins as recorded by P. L. Gupta have been frequently found in the bed of the river Mahānadī by the gold-dust-washers in the Chhattisgarh area of the Madhya Pradesh. Some of them are now in the Nagpur Museum. Their weights have been recorded by him in detail.
14. *JNSI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 107-14 ff.
15. P. L Gupta, "Economic Data from punch-marked Colns", in A. M. Shastri (Ed.) *Coins and Early Indian Economy*, pp. 43-51.

region of Orissa would indicate nothing but commercial relationship between the two regions, which is also evidenced from the finds of various types of coins of other countries, from the same site.[16]

But the largest number of the silver punch-marked coins which have been found in several parts of Orissa in big hoards as well as in the nature of stray finds are the so-called "Imperial series" bearing five punches in common on the obverse and one or more minute symbols on the reverse and belonging to different varieties and groups. They were evidently evolved out of a highly organized currency system which can be known from the study of the internal as well as the external evidences furnished by the coins themselves. The study of the origin and chronology of these coins has long engaged the attention of scholars ; but no satisfactory explanation or definite conclusion has been arrived at, so far. In Orissa, there are no such archaeological excavations, as have been conducted in the various sites of North India, to enable scholars for the study of the chronology of the punch-marked coins. No tangible evidence from early literary or epigraphical sources on this point is also available. However, an attempt is made here to open a new line of approach to solve the problem.

From time to time large number of silver punch-marked coins of the groups generally attributed to the "universal" or "Imperial" type, have been discovered from almost all the parts of Orissa. More than seven big hoards of these coins, collected from different parts of Orissa which are now preserved in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar (Hoard Nos. 3 to 10) and some stray finds have been examined and classified here according to their symbology ; in order to have some idea on the technique of manufacturing of these coins as well as, for determining their chronology ; on the basis of the internal evidences furnished by them. Unfortunately, we do not have any systematic records of the provenance of some of the hoards, available in the Museum, but all the available informations from other sources have been incorporated here as far as possible.

A hoard of 19 coins of the above "universal" type (Hoard No. 3) is now preserved in the Museum at Bhubaneswar, but its findspot is not definitely known. Most probably this was found somewhere in the district of Mayurbhanj in Orissa.[17]

The Hoard No. 4 consisting of 192 pieces of the same type was collected from Baripada, the headquarters of the district of Mayurbhanj during 1962-63. The actual findspot of this hoard was Dundu a village near Bahalda P. S. under the same district, although the details of its discovery are not known.[18] The coins remained unpublished since their discovery.

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16. *Ancient India*, No. 5, pp. 62-105 ff.
17. *OHRJ*, Vol. I, pp. 27-30 ff.
18. It is known from P. N. Acharya's paper on "Ancient Routes in Orissa" in *OHRJ*, Vol. IV, Nos. 3 & 4, p. 45 ; also see, *OHRJ*, Vol. I, pp. 27-30 ff ; *JNSI*, Vol. IV, Part I, pp. 54-60 ff.

The Hoard No. 5 consisting of 10 coins, was found in 1962, at the village called Jharpada, situated at a distance of about two kilometers to the north of the new city of Bhubaneswar in Puri district. The coins were found by the villagers while ploughing a field who deposited them with the Tahasildar of Bhubaneswar, who subsequently gave them to the State Museum. This hoard also remained unpublished since its discovery.[19] It is said that many more coins were found in this hoard, but their whereabouts are not known now.

Another hoard (No. 6) was discovered at Jagamara, a village now under the municipality area of Bhubaneswar and is situated at a distance of about 5 K.Ms. from the New Capital, and very close to the historical monuments of the Udayagiri and Khandagiri hills. The hoard now consisting of 49 coins, was discovered in 1955 and it is rumoured that more coins of the same type were unearthed and distributed among the villagers.[20] It is also an unpublished hoard.

The hoard No. 7, containing 379 coins, was acquired by the Orissa State Museum, under the Treasure-Trove Act in January, 1964 from Salipur in Cuttack district, situated on the bank of the river Birupā, about 22 K.Ms. from the city of Cuttack. It was discovered at the top of a hillock called Rāmeśvara where an old fort, locally known as *Rājanahara*, is situated. A group of stonecutters, while cutting stones, found an earthen pot containing these silver punch-marked coins buried about one foot below the earth. They were acquired through the Tahsildar of Salipur for the State Museum.[21]

A hoard of 539 coins (Hoard No. 8) was found in 1965 at the old and ruined fort of Asurgarh in Kalahandi district, situated under Narla Police Station. According to the information furnished by the local people one huge earthen pot, broken to pieces, was found on a small mound at the fort, after a heavy rainfall, with a large quantity of silver coins scattered beside the vessel. People of that locality collected these coins in baskets and sold them to the local merchants. The Police could recover only 526 coins from the villagers. The Mahārājā of Kalahandi, P. K Deo, in 1969, handed over these coins, along with 13 others of the same type, to the Orissa State Museum. He has also published papers on them.[22]

Another Treasure-Trove of 334 silver punch-marked coins (Hoard No. 9) was discovered in 1970 by a group of labourers while digging earth on a plot of land at the village Pāṇḍiā on the side of the Pāṇḍiā-Jaugaḍa road in the district of Ganjam. The special Rock Edict of Aśoka at Jaugaḍa is situated at a distance of about 2 K.Ms. from

19. This has been noticed by P. K. Deo, while writing a paper on the Asurgarh hoard of the silver punch-marked coins in *OHRJ*, Vol. XIV, pp. 25-60 ff.
20. The information obtained from the old records of the Orissa State Museum.
21. This hoard has been published by P. K. Roy in *OHRJ*, Vol. XII, No. 3, pp. 123-160 ff.
22. *OHRJ*, Vol. XIV, Nos. 3 and 4, pp. 25-60 ff ; *JNSI*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 111-130.

the findspot of this hoard. The coins were kept in an earthen pot. This unpublished hoard was acquired for the State Museum through the Collectorate of Chhatrapur, in 1970.

The hoard No. 10, containing 360 silver punch-marked coins was also a Treasure-Trove find, discovered in 1978 at Samantaraipur, a village situated at a distance of about 2 K.Ms. from the New Capital of Bhubaneswar. The ruins of the Sisupalgarh fort is situated at a distance of about one Kilometre from the findspot of these coins. They were discovered in an earthen pot from a private plot of land of the same village and now preserved in the State Museum.[23]

Apart from the above finds, there are reports of discovery of this type of silver punch-marked coins from the archaeological excavations at Sisupalgarh near Bhubaneswar.[24] This discovery was made at the level assignable to about 2nd century A.D. Punch-marked coins are reported to have been found from the Udayagiri hills near Bhubaneswar while clearing the debris and filling forming the terrace in front of the Cave No. 14 during 1960.[25]

It may be pointed out here that all the coins or coin-hoards buried in the past and discovered in recent times do not come to the notice of the historians and numismatists. This is, due mainly for the reason that common people, ignorant of the historical importance of the ancient coins, invariably melt them to convert into ornaments or any other useful form. Thus, the coins of valuable metals, like gold and silver, rarely come to light. We have informations from the local people that the Asurgarh hoard of punch-marked coins (Hoard No. 8) weighed several *maunds*, but almost all were melted away by the people of the locality. Similarly, the Chhatrapur hoard, also, does not contain all the coins, as we have informations that people of that locality still retain with them, some of the coins from the hoard. Big earthen jars, full of silver punch-marked coins were said to have been found at the time of the excavation of the canal at Samantaraipur. But they must have met the same fate, before coming to the notice of the historians. If we consider the number of these coins melted or yet to be discovered, the available specimens give us a rough indication of the abundance of coins that were manufactured and circulated throughout the country.

These silver punch-marked coins are the only ancient coinage of the whole of India, which are known in the largest number. The internal and external evidences for historical data furnished by them are of immense importance to the numismatists and historians. Internal evidences are generally gleaned from the metal contents of the coins, their general fabric, the weight standard and the symbology adopted for them or

23. A paper on the hoard Nos. 9 and 10 has been published by me in the *JOH*, Vol. II, No. 2, pp. 30-34 ff.
24. *Ancient India*, No. 5, pp. 62-105 ff.
25. *Indian Archaeology*, A Review, 1961-62, p. 37.

the various stamp devices on the two sides of the coins, the technique of their manufacturing which may be capable of supplying some important historical data on this coinage.

Fabrication

A close study of these punch-marked coins shows that two distinct processes were followed in their manufacturing. Due to the peculiar process of their manufacturing, the coins have various shapes and sizes. The squarish and rectangular pieces are generally found more in number in a hoard. They seem to have been prepared out of thin and flat sheets of silver which were at first cut into stripes of varying breadth. Blank pieces of approximately desired weight, squarish or rectangular in shape were then cut out of these stripes. The corners of these blank pieces were clipped off later on to adjust the weight standard. In this process, also more nearly round and eliptically shaped coins were manufactured which are found generally less in number in a hoard. The round or oblong pieces appear to have taken the same shape in the process of clipping off the sides for adjustment of their weight standard. The practice of clipping was mainly responsible for the irregular shape and uneven sides of the punch-marked coins. These are generally of thin and broad fabric. But there are also squarish and rectangular coins of another fabric which are generally thicker and smaller in size in comparison to the above coins. They were also manufactured in the same process as above. The metal sheets from which the coin pieces were cut were much thicker. The blank pieces thus appear thick and dumpy. But their general appearance shows, the sides were clipped evenly in comparison with the thin and broad coins. Their comparatively regular shape as well as the symbology which will be seen later on, would suggest their later development and followed the thin and broad pieces in the chronology of their manufacturing.

Another process of manufacturing the punch-marked coins was the preparation of globules out of molten metal, which were later on given a flattened round shape by beating with a hammer. They are generally of thick fabric with cracked edges. The globules were prepared, probably, out of the scrap clippings of the blank pieces that were left out after adjusting the weight of the coins manufactured by the first process. The molten metal of the scrap clippings, in required quantity, were dropped into stirred water to take a roundish or elongated shape. Small and dumpy pieces of round shape were manufactured by this process. Some round or elongated coins show medium size thickness and thinner and broader than these dumpy pieces which seem to have followed the thin and broad pieces in the chronological order, manufactured by first process. The process of manufacturing these medium size, roundish coins, seems to be same as that followed in the preparation of globules for small and dumpy coins. These pieces also sometimes show cracked edged. Probably, hot globules of bigger size, were made more thin and big by more hammering. All the hoards found in Orissa consist of coins, manufactured by both proceses.

Metal

In the present study as many as 1881 coins from all the eight hoards have been examined in detail. Out of the ten hoards of silver punch-marked coins, which are now preserved in the Orissa State Museum, the first two consist of coins of "local" punch-marked type as discussed above.[26] The coins of all the hoards, which are of silver, are found not always pure and show more or less traces of copper, iron and other alloys. Besides the natural content of impurities in them, some amount of alloy was deliberately added in the process of manufacturing, in order to harden the metal, as well as for profit. The chemical analysis of these coins shows that the "local" type coins contain 80 to 75 percent of silver and 20 to 25 percent of other base metal like copper, iron and tin. Some of these show traces of copper for which they look greenish due to the atmospherie reactions, and some look black, due, probably, to high percentage of iron content in them.

As regards the metal contents of the hoards of "universal" type punch-marked coins, a few of them have been chemically analysed, which show the silver contents in these coins in varying degrees. Coins of similar type from other parts of India have been assayed which show that the silver content in them vary from 51–59% to 86.2% and copper mixed with them vary from 20% to 29·36% and other alloys mixed from 3.59% to 3%.[27] However, a close study of the metal contents of the coins would show that coins in different hoards, belonging of different periods have different grades of alloy. This is also suggestive of the fact that the coins were manufactured at different places by different goldsmiths who were entrusted with the work of manufacturing coins in ancient times. The coins in the Chhatrapur hoard (Hoard No. 9) show traces of greenish verdigris, due to the atmospheric reactions on them, also suggest more copper content in them. The Samantaraipur hoard (Hoard No. 10) also contains coins alloyed with more copper. A few coins of different varieties from the hoard were chemically examined which revealed that they contain 75% to 80% of silver varying in different coins. Some pieces from the hoards under study show traces of iron rust indicating more iron content in them than that of other alloys. The small and dumpy coins from almost all the hoards show traces of more copper. They also look more worn due possibly to their being made of soft alloys than those of the thin and broad fabric coins. Most of them show cupric in their appearance, which is obviously due to atmospheric actions. Admixture of the amount of copper, which seems to be the main alloying metal in these silver punch-marked coins and its varying content, noticed in different varieties of them, were possibly for hardening the metal as well as due to the need by the politico-economic exigencies, during the period of their circulation. The coins of different

26. The hoard No. 2 may not be taken as a hoard, it contains two "local" type punch-marked coins which were found during excavation at Sisupalgarh.
27. *IMC*, Vol. I, p. 133; *J. of Indian Museum*, Vol. XIII, p. 16; *Num. Suppl.*, No. XLV, p, 14.

hoards under study as well as several assays of punch-marked coins from other parts of India stated above would reveal that the copper content in them is not less than 20%. The maximum percentage of copper alloy in some of these coins are known to be 60%.[28] The metallic contents of these coins, which are generally known to have been in actual use during the time of Kauṭilya (C. 4th century B.C.) have been described in his *Arthaśāstra*. The passage in this work refers to the *Lakshaṇādhyaksha*, the Superintendent of mint whose duty was to carry on the manufacture of silver coins (*rūpya-rūpa*) made up of four parts of copper and one-sixteenth part (which was called *māsha*) of any one of the metals *tikshṇa* (iron), *trapu* (tin), *sīsa* (lead) and *añjana* (antimony). In other words the passage specifies that the silver coins should contain 11 parts of silver (68.75%), four parts of copper (25%) and one part of other alloys (6.25%). The *Arthaśāstra* also indicates that even the royal authorities would often debase the currency in order to enrich the royal treasury.[29]

On the basis of their fabrications, these so-called "universal" or "Imperial" type of silver punch-marked coins which were in circulation throughout the country, under some centrally well-organized administration, may be broadly attributed to two periods. (1) The thin and broad fabric pieces more irregular in shape, which seem to be lighter in weight, are generally taken to be of early "imperial" series, and (2) the thick and small, dumpy pieces, appearing heavier in weight, are taken to belong to the later "imperial" series. These pieces are more geometrical in shape, and the corners are clipped evenly. On the basis of their symbology also, the above two series can be attributed to two different periods, as it will be seen presently.

Obverse and Reverse Symbols

All the above early and later "Imperial" series of punch-marked coins have five symbols on the obverse. In the present study, out of 1881 coins from all the eight hoards of the so-called "imperial" series of punch-marked coins, as many as 906 coins have been examined in detail from the point of view of their symbology. An examination of the rest of the coins has shown that the conclusions derived from the study of 906 coins are also applicable to them as a whole. About 200 coins could not be assigned to any group or variety as the symbols on them are very much indistinct and almost worn out. The symbols on the coins, are very often noticed, not fully punched and invariably seen, jumbled up together, thus making it difficult to distinguish the symbols separately. With the help of a number of coins of the same variety and group, from all the present hoards under study, as well as other published hoards from different parts of India, it has been possible to restore the full symbol and its identification. Altogether 198 symbols on the

28. P. L. Gupta, *Amarāvatī Hoard of Silver Punch-marked Coins*, p. 4.
29. *Arthaśāstra*, (H. Shamasastry's translation, 1929), p. 86; also see, *JNSI*, Vol. XXXVIII, Part II, p. 7.

obverse and 93 exclusively on the reverse, from the present hoards have been restored and illustrated here. Some of the symbols from the obverse are also found on the reverse of some of the coins, but in their smaller form. The reverse symbols are not so prominently visible as those on the obverse, which is due to indifferent and poor striking of the punches, and a large number of illegible reverse symbols could not be restored satisfactorily.

The symbols on these "Imperial" series of punch-marked coins (both early and later series) occur in certain and regular groups. They may indicate five different objects which vary according to the variation of symbols. Each symbol has a definite place, which can be easily recognized by the illustrations in Plates I to XXX. Several scholars have classified punch-marked coins of similar types discovered in other parts of India[30] into several classes, groups and varieties. They have also placed these coins according to their classifications and on the basis of the fabric, shape, weight and symbols on them, into different periods. But their systems of grouping and identification of symbols differ from each other and seem to be somewhat confusing.

The symbols, found on the punch-marked coins seem to be primitive in conception and non-Aryan in origin. This is suggested by their irregular shape and rude execution. The monetary calculation and the various weight systems prevalent in ancient India seem to have been adopted, atleast some of the elements, from the non-Aryans. Intermingling of non-Aryan elements in the culture of the Aryans who settled in India, are now traced by scholars.[31] Thus the symbols on these punch-marked coins represent various animate and inanimate objects such as :

1. natural objects like sun, trees, mushrooms, branches with fruits, river, hills, etc.
2. deer, dog, hare, rhinoceros, peacock, serpent, frog, crocodile, fishes, tortoise, flies, etc.
3. human figures, implements and works of man, such as plough, bow and arrow, cups, vases, *Stupas*, *Chaityas*, tree-in-railing, *chhatra* or umbrella like objects, etc.
4. Miscellaneous and unknown symbols.

A careful study of all the hoards of the punch-marked coins would show that, except a few pieces, which are generally attributed to the later "Imperial" series (Nos. 172 to 178 of Plates XXIX and XXX) all of them bear the common symbol of Sun (Symbol No. 5 of Plate XXXI). It is represented by several rays around a

30. Walsh, *Punch-marked Coins from Taxila*; Durga Prasad, *JASB* (*NS*), No. XLV, 1934, pp. N5-N59 with plates; B. L. Gupta, *Punch-marked coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum* and *Amaravati Hoard of Silver Punch-marked coins.*
31. Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins*, p. 55.

circle with a conspicuous dot at the centre. Another symbol which remains constant in all these coins is the so-called six-armed symbol (any of the symbols from No. 6 to 48 of Plates XXXI and XXXII). There are as many as 43 varieties of six armed symbols, found in all these hoards. All of them have the common forms of six arms, around a circle with a dot at the centre and commonly called by scholars as Six-armed or *Shaḍara-chakra.* The Sun and the Six-armed symbols have been taken here as the first and second symbols respectively for their classification (Plates I to XXX). The remaining three symbols consisting of large number of animate and inanimate objects, greatly vary in different pieces. Proper grouping of these symbols would show that they have also some common features. The third symbol has been taken as the class mark of these coins on which the fourth and the fifth symbols are different. The fourth is the group symbol which varies within one and the same class. The fifth is the variety mark varying within the same class and group. Every fifth symbol is found different within the group. Coins from Nos. 172 to 178 are different in respect of their symbology from the coins classified under different groups and varieties. They do not have the Sun and the Six-armed symbols as the first and second marks. Instead, they have three human figures, separately punched as three different symbols for first, second and third marks.[32] These coins are associated with others through their fourth as well as, some common reverse symbols. On the basis of the above classification the coins have been arranged in their proper order, which may reveal some new informations on the process and authority of minting of these coins, though not their chronological history. It seems, the same grouping of obverse symbols, usually noticed on a large number of coins from a single hoard would suggest that they were stamped on the coins at the same time by the issuing authority. But this may not be the case with the reverse symbols.

Reverse Symbols

The symbols punched on the reverse side of all these coins are comparatively smaller in size than those on the obverse, sometimes, found in minute forms. These minute symbols vary from one to any number and we do not find any uniformity in their number, consisting of endless varieties. About 93 symbols have been illustrated here in the present study. The symbols appear to have been very lightly punched, and hence their impressions are not so deep as the obverse symbols. Some coins show on their reverse, several minute symbols jumbled up together, thereby, making it difficult to distinguish the individual symbols. Some of the obverse symbols are also found in their smaller form on the reverse (Cf. Symbol Nos. 199, 200, .06, 207, 217 of Plate XXXV and many others). It may be

32. The symbol of three human figures, compositely impressed, is also seen on some coins of a different variety found in other published hoards, Cf., *BMCI*, p. 26, No. 14, Plate IV, 10.

pointed out here that the thin and broader pieces which are generally taken to be of earlier issues and termed as early "Imperial" series, have more minute symbols on their reverse, than those on the later "Imperial" series. The later "Imperial" series of these coins, generally bear one or two minute symbols. These symbols are also seen on the obverse of this series. Some coins have also three reverse symbols in minute forms. It is also to be noted here that, the reverse symbols on the thick and dumpy pieces of the later "Imperial" series seem to be more deeply punched than those on the thin and broader pieces. The light punching and almost illegible minute symbols on the early "Imperial" series would indicate that they were punched at a later date after the final manufacturing of the coins, when the metallic pieces were cold and hard.[33] Scholars like Durga Prasad[34], E. H. C. Walsh[35] and P. N. Bhattacharya[36], made detailed study on these innumerable varieties of reverse symbols and have given long lists of them. But no satisfactory conclusion was drawn on the real significance of these symbols.

Some of the early "Imperial" coins have one or two extra symbols in smaller form on their obverse side illustrated in coin Nos. 3, 10, 27, 28, 43, 88, 89, 100 etc. of Plates I to XVIII. They are practically some of the reverse symbols and punched on the obverse as extra symbols. They have been taken by scholars as counter-marks. The symbol No. 195 is a common extra punch, seen frequently on the early "Imperial" series. It is interesting to note that these so-called counter-marks are struck on the obverse side, only on the coins of early "Imperial" series which are of thin and broad fabrics. They are found always punched near the edge of the coin and are not exclusive to any variety of this series. These coins also bear more minute symbols on their reverse than that of the later "Imperial" series. The light punching of the reverse symbols as well as the counter-marks on the early "Imperial" series of the punch-marked coins would probably indicate that these symbols were punched at a later date by different moneyers and mercantile guilds of different places through whom these coins were circulated in the market. The marks were probably punched to test the genuineness of the coins in commer-

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33. A. N. Lahiri, in a paper has referred to the symbols on obverse as "Primary" and on the reverse and other counter-marks or extra symbols on obverse as "secondary" symbols and suggests that these secondary symbols were "merely testing" or "authentication" marks of "Private" or "authorised" individuals which were impressed from time to time or just after their manufacture on the cold and hard surface of the finally minted coins". *JNSI*, Vol. XXXVIII, Part II, p. 22 & note 4.
34. *JPASB* (*NS*), No. XLV, Plate XXV.
35. Walsh, *Punch-marked Coins from Taxila*, Plates II-III.
36. P. N. Bhattacharya, *A Hoard of Silver Punch-marked Coins from Purnea*, Plates IV-VII.

cial transactions. It seems, the more minute marks on them would indicate, the more old the coins were, as they continued to remain in circulation for a longer period, and passed through various mercantile guilds from time to time. This would also indicate that the minute marks were not punched on the coins at one time but at different periods. As regards the coins of the later "Imperial" series, which look more geometrical in shape and bear less minute marks on their reverse in conspicuous form and no counter-marks on the obverse, would indicate that, considerable progress was made gradually by the period of their introduction, in the matter of improving the quality and technique of their manufacture as well as in the process of their circulation. The genuineness and the intrinsic value of the coins were assured during this period, by the well recognised symbol-groups on them. It is to be noticed that in most cases, the reverse symbols of these later "Imperial" series, are practically, the obverse symbols, but in small and conspicuous forms. They were, perhaps, recognized as marks put by well-established and respectable moneyers, and traders who had to handle these coins frequently and in large quantity. The necessity of repeated examinations as in the case of the earlier series, was thus considerably reduced.

It is known from Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* that there were royal officers designated as *Lakshaṇādhyaksha* and *Rūpadarśaka* in charge of royal mint. The duty of the *Lakshaṇādhyaksha* was to supervise the coin-minting, to check the symbols (*Lakshaṇas*) punched on the coins. *Rūpadarśaka* was the examiner of coin, whose duty was to "regulate currency both as a medium of exchange and as legal tender admissible into the treasury···one-eighth *paṇa* per cent be levied as *Pārīkshika* or coin testing charges".[37] This would indicate that the officer was paid for testing the coins or putting some test-marks to know the genuineness before their entry into the royal treasury. It seems, the genuineness of the coins and their intrinsic value were tested again and again, particularly in the case of the early "Imperial" series, by the various moneyers, bankers through whose hands the coins passed, as well as the royal officers, during commercial transactions, for which we notice so many minute symbols on their reverse.

The punch-marked coins from all the seven hoards have been classified in the present study, with those specimens, having common symbology. The coins of each class, group and variety, according to their classification, are found, more or less in number in almost every hoard. Moreover, any coin from any hoard, with new symbology and forming new class, group or variety, has also been included and illustrated in the plates with reference to its provenance. The general fabric and symbology of the coins, according to this classification, are identical with those of the numerous hoards of these coins, found all over India, and do not add much to our knowledge, on this point. At the present state of our knowledge, the exact

37. *NS*, No. XLVII, N 55-57 N.

nature and purpose of the symbols, cannot be satisfactorily determined, although scholars have expressed divergent opinions on this point. P. L. Gupta, on the basis of these symbol groups, has determined the chronology of several varieties and classes within each period. But this is not convincing to us in the absence of any definite proof on the bearing of the symbol groups which can be definitely assigned to a particular period. Durga Prasad believed that the "three-arched hill with crescent" (Symbol No. 49 of Plate XXXII) was a Mauryan symbol and the coins bearing this symbol belonged to the Mauryan period.[38] P. L. Gupta holds the view that the coins bearing animal symbol belonged to earlier period than the coins with "hill" symbol. But more convincing than these assumptions on the basis of symbols, is the nature of the general fabric of these coins, on the basis of which it can be atleast tentatively said that the coins of different fabrics belonged to different periods or it may be possible to think that they were manufactured at different places. A few minute observations on their technique of manufacturing and the peculiarity of execution of symbols would reveal some new facts regarding the minting of these coins. It may be noted here that coins having similarity in respect of their class, group and variety, sometimes differ in the minute punches on their reverse sides. This may also suggest that these coins passed through different traders and moneyers belonging to different areas who used different testing marks on the reverse side of the coins during monetary transactions. A careful examination of the punch-marked coins of all these hoards under study as well as other published hoards would reveal another interesting fact regarding punches, which has so far been overlooked by the numismatists. It seems, different punching devices for similar type of symbols on two different coins of their prototype were used. Thus the same symbol punched on two individual coins, though basically belong to the same type, apparently look like two different varieties of the same symbol. The same symbol, has also been taken by scholars to be of two different varieties. To cite an example, we may take the symbol Nos. 50 and 51, illustrated in Plate XXXII. This symbol has been described by P. L. Gupta, as "three arched hill enclosed in a *maṇḍapa* with a dumb-bell at the top and a rectangular enclosure at the bottom with two beetles (or fishes).[39] Similar symbol having a taurine instead of a dumb-bell at the top, facing either to left or to right has also been found in a number of coins, after careful examination of several coin-hoards. There are other instances of the same symbol being differently punched with the help of two different punching devices, and which may not be taken as two different varieties of the same symbol. The symbol No. 131, which is also a very common symbol found almost in every punch-marked coin-hoards, has been taken by the scholars

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38. *NS*, No. XLVII, p. 61.
39. Cf. P. L. Gupta, *Amarāvatī Hoard of Silver punch-marked Coins*. p. 18, No. 112; Plate I.

as belonging to two different varieties.[40] But it is due to the two different punch-dies in which the symbols are curved either to right or to the left, for which the same symbol is punched on the coin in two different types. The same is the case with the symbol No. 198. This symbol has been described by P. L. Gupta as an "an object resembling a flattened capital "M" over a spear with five taurines around it".[41] The taurine over the "M" like object is sometimes depicted as facing to right and in some coins, to left. This observation would lead to the conclusion that the hoards of silver punch-marked coins, containings invariably coins of same variety with minute variations in the execution of the similar symbols were definite indication of their manufacture by different punching dies. This is also suggestive of the fact that they were manufactured by different goldsmiths using different dies. This was probably one of the reasons which necessitated the royal officers like *Lakshaṇādhyaksha* of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* to examine the symbols on coins and put test-marks on the reverse of the coins having such minute variations in the punches.

Cut pieces and broken coins in the hoards

Some cut pieces of various shapes with the symbols partly visible are occasionally found in big hoards of punch-marked coins.[42] Some of the present hoards from Orissa under study also contain a few cut and broken pieces. The hoard No. 1 of the "local" series from Sonepur has a number of cut pieces of various shapes and sizes, and some of them being very tiny pieces. The hoard also contains a few small globules of silver having no symbol on them. The tiny cut pieces would obviously indicate that they were deliberately clipped away from the full coins in order to adjust their weight standard. They show only portions of the usual symbols of the Kośala type "local" punch-marked coins. The globules were probably prepared out of these cut pieces and probably hoarded along with the coins for the purpose of preparing fresh coins out of them. Among the hoards of "Imperial" series the Salipur hoard (No. 7) contains two broken pieces, the Asurgarh hoard (No. 8) contains one and the Samantaraipur hoard has nine such pieces of various sizes and shapes with distorted symbols partly visible. These broken coins are very much worn out pieces and do not contain all the five symbols for which they have not been included in the present classification chart. The only broken coin from the Asurgarh hoard (No. 12 of the Plate II) with a new symbol group has been included here. Out of the two broken coins of the Salipur hoard, one, a completely worn out piece and broken from one corner and the broken portion is now missing. The other coin is broken into two equal halves of the

40. Cf. *Amarāvatī Hoard*, p. 25, Nos. 222 and 223. These two symbols are in fact one and the same. The only difference between the two is that the tail in one is curved to left while the other is to the right.

41. *Ibid*, p. 22, No. 186 and Plate II.

42. P. L. Gupta, *Amarāvatī Hoard*, p. 141.

same piece, having five symbols of the same class, group and variety. P. L. Gupta has referred to a number of such cut and broken pieces from various hoards of punch-marked coins found in other parts of India.[43] In his opinion, these were deliberately cut into two halves in order to use them as the value of half coin which were accepted as legal tender. But there is no corroborative evidence to show the prevalence of the practice of dichotomy as he called it, i.e., the use of cut coins as of lesser value than the full coins, during the period when the punch-marked currency was in vogue. Moreover, the deliberately cut pieces have been found in a few hoards in a very small number. Some of them clearly show that they were clipped away, either for the purpose of adjusting their weight standard, or by some dishonest people to use the metallic value of the cut pieces. The broken pieces in the hoards would suggest that they were broken accidentally during their circulation or at the time of their hoarding. The occasional presence of cut pieces in some of the hoards would possibly indicate that they were tested by different moneyers while examining the genuineness of these pieces. The cut or broken pieces were also taken as legal tender, as they also had some definite metallic value and could be used either in preparation of fresh coins or making ornaments and other purposes. The cut and broken pieces were probably weighed according to the prevailing weight standard and passed as a metallic media of exchange, though not as a coined money of the value of a half coin, as suggested by P. L. Gupta.

There are some coins, found in almost every hoard, having two different symbols belonging to two different groups or varieties. Sometimes they bear six obverse symbols, instead of five, belonging to two different varieties. P. L. Gupta has described these coin-types as freak coins, which according to him, slip out of minter's notice and pass as normal coins, and they are not uncommon in every country and in all periods.[44] A few such coins are also found in the present hoards. The coins numbering 87, 96, 103, 120 are the few among the so-called freak pieces, illustrated here. Sometimes, the class mark is omitted and in its place, quite a new symbol is punched. Among such coins, Nos. 87 and 120 are significant. It is well-known that, separate punches were used for each symbol and here in the case of these coins, the symbols of two different groups or varieties were punched by mistake by the manufacturer of these coins. It seems that there was no difficulty in accepting them as normal coins in circulation, as the metallic value as well as the weight standard of these pieces were hot reduced due to this type of mistake.

There are also some distorted and defaced coins, found in a number of punch-marked coin hoards. P. L. Gupta described a distorted coin as forged piece and

43. P. L. Gupta, *Amarāvatī Hoard*, p. 141.

44. *Ibid.*, pp. 110-112.

says, "it is an unsuccessful attempt to make the coin by the method of cast."[45] But the illustration given by him clearly shows that it was manufactured by cutting the metal into a square piece and clipping at the corners. The Samantaraipur hoard (No. 10) contains a number of globules as well as square pieces of distorted nature. The globules show the cracked edges, which would not occur in the case of casting by mould. The distortion occurs on coins due to the carelessness of the persons entrusted with manufacturing the coins, during heating of the metal piece. It is generally caused by some air-bubbles within the heated metal, and thus, when struck by the punching materials, the symbols do not come out in their proper form, due to the distorted nature of the metallic piece, caused by the air-bubbles.

Terracotta coin moulds for casting silver punch-marked coins of the above type, have been discovered in different parts of India.[46] In Orissa similar clay moulds have been found at the time of archaeological excavation at Sisupalgarh, near Bhubaneswar.[47] These moulds are round discs, made of gray clay-pottery. Out of the two moulds discovered at Sisupalgarh, one is a circular disc and the other is a fragment. It shows eleven coin sockets of irregular shape indicating the mould to have meant for casting punch-marked coins of the so-called "Imperial" or "universal" series. But the coin impressions on it show that, probably the moulds were prepared from the almost worn out coin pieces of some known varieties, at a considerably late date, when manufacturing of punch-marked coins by the technique of punching had become a thing of the past. The moulds were discovered at a level assigned by the scholars to about 300 A.D. Similar punch-marked coin-moulds have been discovered from Kondapur in association with the coin-moulds of the Āndhra-Śātavāhanas and the Western Kshatrapas. These moulds have been attributed to *circa* second century A.D. On the basis of this discovery, scholars have suggested that the Āndhra-Śātavāhanas used imitations of the punch-marked coins along with imitations of the Western Kshatrapas prepared out of these moulds.[48] But it is interesting to note that the silver punch-marked coins so far discovered in different parts of India, including Orissa, do not show that they were manufactured by cast. Scholars are also of opinion that these moulds served as "contrivances of forgerers".[49] However, the absence of punch-marked coins prepared by mould would suggest that these terracotta moulds were unsuccessful attempt to manufacture these coins by cast. But the stratigraghic evidence would show the use of silver punch-marked coins in commercial transactions, till atleast

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45. *Ibid.*, pp. 134-35 and Plate XXX, No. 7668.
46. P. L. Gupta, *Punch-marked coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum*, pp. 130-135; *JUPHS*, Vol. I, pp. 137-40; *Proc. Hyd. Arch. & Hist. Soc.*, 1941, p. 29; *ABORI*, Vol. XII, pp. 180ff.
47. *Ancient India*, No. 5, p. 99.
48. *Proc. Hyd. Arch. & Hist. Soc.*, 1941, p. 29.
49. P. L. Gupta, *Op.Cit.*, p. 134.

4th century A.D. in Orissa and they were in great demand even in their post-production period when the practice of punching symbols on metallic cut-pieces had become a thing of the past, for which, people conceived the idea of making punch-marked coins by casting technique to meet the demand. However, the nonavailability of the separate punching devices for preparation of these coins and the discontinuity of their manufacturing with these devices during 3rd-4th century A.D. are indicated by the discovery of the terracotta moulds.

Chronology

These silver punch-marked coins, which have been found throughout the length and breadth of the Indian sub-continent and now regarded by the numismatists as the "earliest coinage of the world", undoubtedly formed the most extensive monetary system in the country as a whole. But the exact period of history when these were first introduced and remained in circulation, there is no unanimity of opinion among the scholars.[50] The evidences on point of their chronology are very meagre, and not much helpful to reach to a definite conclusion. The internal evidences such as the interpretation or classification of symbols furnished by these coins do not yield any data bearing on the problem of chronology. The analysis of weights and measures and the general fabric of these coins may often be helpful to determine, atleast tentatively, the chronological relation between various groups of them, but their positive dating cannot be decided on the basis of these evidences. It is the external evidence which has now furnished important data on point of the circulation period of these coins. It is now well-known from a number of stratigraphic excavations, conducted in different ancient sites in India, that these coins remained in circulation for a long period of time, even covering several centuries. But it has not been possible to know so far to determine the exact date when these coins were first introduced in different parts of India is general, and into Orissa, in particular. Two kinds of external evidences, viz., literary and archaeological may be taken into consideration in order to determine the chronology of the punch-marked coins. It may be pointed out here that while literary evidence is subject to varied interpretations, archaeological evidence, although leaves lesser scope for speculation, has not yet yielded satisfactory

50. The beginnings of the punch-marked coins in India have been variously determined by different authorities at various dates ranging from 1000 B.C. or even earlier to the 4th century B.C. For opinions of various authorities on this point, see Allan, *BMCI*, p. LVIII ; V. A. Smith, *CCIM*, Vol. I, p. 133 ; B. C. Kennedy, *JRAS* (1898), pp. 279ff. ; Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 43 ; D.R. Bhandarkar, *Car. Lect. Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 71 ; S.K. Chakravartty, *Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 33 ; P. L. Gupta, *Amarāvatī Hoard of Silver Punch-marked Coins*, pp. 141-149.

conclusion on the exact period of introduction of these coins in the country, However, a broad limit of the period during which, these coins were introduced or in circulation, may be ascertained from these external evidences.

It is now generally accepted that the punch-marked silver as well as copper coins were used as currency during the Mauryan rule. The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, whose time may be reasonably assigned to about the later part of the 4th century B.C., refers to silver coins called *paṇa* and its several denominations, viz., *ardha-paṇa, pāda, ashṭa-bhāga,* and the copper coins and its denominations were known as *māshaka, ardha-māshaka, kākiṇī,* and *ardha-kākaṇī.*[51] The Buddhist literature reveals the coins known as *kārshāpaṇa* which was extensively used as currency in the daily life of the people, belonging to all the different strata of the society. The Jātakas referring the coin-name *kāhāpaṇa,* although contain interpolations of ages, still have some early informations about the society atleast during the period of 3rd century B.C. and afterwards (upto about 5th century A.D.).[52] They also refer to different subdivisions of the *kāhāpaṇa,* e.g., *addha-kāhāpaṇa* ($\frac{1}{2}$), *pāda* ($\frac{1}{4}$)-*kāhāpaṇa, dve* (1/8)-*māshaka, eka* (1/16)-*māshaka,* and *addha*-(1/32)-*māshaka*[53] etc. in connection with commercial transactions. This numismatic evidence is found in the early Pāli texts like *Vinaya-piṭaka, Aṅguttara-nikāya.*[54] This reference to the coin-name *Kārshāpaṇa* in early Buddhist literature which have been assigned by scholars to a period not earlier than 4th century B.C., is also corroborated by Pāṇini, the well-known grammarian, whose date has been assigned to C. 5th century B.C. In his *Ashṭādhyāyī,* Pāṇini mentions silver *Kārshāpaṇa* or *Paṇa* with its various denominations,[55] viz., *ardha* ($\frac{1}{2}$) or *bhāga-kārshāpaṇa, pāda* ($\frac{1}{4}$)-*kārshāpaṇa, dvi* (1/8)-*māsha* and *māsha* (1/16). He also mentions other types of silver currency such as *śatamāna, śāṇa, viṁśatika, triṁśatika* etc. which were probably prevalent during his time. It seems as evident from all these sources, *kārshāpaṇa* was regarded as the standard silver coin during this period which has been generally taken to denote the silver and copper punch-marked coins weighing 32 *rattis* or about 56 grains of which thousands of specimens have been discovered all over India. Kātyāyana, who is assigned to the middle of the 4th centnry B.C. in his *Śrautasūtra* and *Vārttika* on Pāṇini has referred to the *kārshāpaṇas* of different denominations[56], as well as to the silver *śatamāna,* which seem to be current side by side. The earliest reference to

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51. *JNSI,* Vol. XXII, pp. 13-37.
52. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature,* Vol. I, p. 508, note 3; Vol. II, p. 156.
53. D. R. Bhandarkar, *Car. Lect. on Anc. Ind. Numismatics,* pp. 37ff.
54. *JNSI,* Vol. XV, pp. 22-23.
55. *JNSI,* Vol. IX, pp. 27ff.
56. *JNSI,* Vol. XV, pp. 21ff.

coin-names like *nishka*[57], *śatamāna*[58], *pāda*[59], etc. is found in the early Vedic literature, viz., the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Upanishads* etc. whether these names denoted coined money or simply metallic media of exchange at this early stage, is a matter of speculation, but it is certain, that the names like *nishka*, *śatamāna*, came to denote coins of different metals, at the later period which is evidenced from various epigraphical and literary records of early and medieval period. The references to *śatamāna* which is considered to be one of the earliest coin-names with its *pāda* or one-eighth, otherwise called *śāṇa*, already discussed earlier, are not found in the Buddhist texts and *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya. Instead, frequent mention of *kārshāpaṇa*, *paṇa* and *māsha* in the literary texts of this period, would clearly indicate that atleast from 5th century B.C., i.e., from the time of Pāṇini, who has referred to both the coin names *śatamāna* and *kārshāpaṇa*, with their different subdivisions, the *kārshāpaṇa* coin series had come into vogue and it continued to be current in the subsequent period of Kauṭilya and in the period when the Buddhist *Jātakas* were compiled.

Much emphasis has been laid on stratigraphic evidence obtained from several archaeological excavations, which has helped to place punch-marked coins recovered from such excavations, to distinct chronological settings, depending on the determination of dates of the strata containing coins. The earliest chronological limit for the circulation of punch-marked coins found by the archaeologists in stratigraphic digging in different parts of the country, is C. 535 B.C.[60] The archaeologists have suggested only broadly the period of circulation of the coins. They have generally fixed the chronology of these coins on the basis of the dates of other objects, particularly the Northern Black Polished Wares (which have been generally assigned to the date from C. 600 B.C. to C. 200 B.C.) and other associated wares. But whereas, these have been approximately dated, no definite internal chronology can be assigned to the punch-marked coins on this basis, so far as the upper limit of their chronology is concerned. However, when the discovery of punch-marked coins at the level, generally attributed to 500 B.C., is corroborated by literary evidences of the extensive use of silver and copper coins, it may be

57. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XI, 4. 1. 1 ; *Chhāndogya Upanishad*, IV, 7ff.
58. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, V, 4-3, 24 ; V, 4. 3. 26 ; *Taitarīya Brāhmaṇa*, I, 8. 9. 1 ; I. 3. 7. 8. ; II. 6. 4. 5.
59. *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad*, III, 1. 1. 2.
According to A. M. Shastri, the earliest reference to silver coinage, probably occurs in the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā* of the Black *Yajurveda* in which mention is made on the *Śatamāna* coins in silver—Cf. A. K. Narain & L. Gopal (Ed.), *Seminar Papers on the Chronology of the Punch-marked Coins*, pp. 112-120.
60. G. R. Sharma, *The Excavations at Kausambi*, 1957-59, Allahabad, 1960, pp. 19-20, 80-82 and Plate IV.

likely that these punch-marked coins came into vogue by the beginning of 7th century B.C.

So far as the continuity in the circulation of the punch-marked coins or their lower chronological limit is concerned, there are ample evidences, literary as well as archaeological, which would clearly show that these coins were in the market in the early centuries of the Christian ear down to about 15th century A.D. Several archaeological excavations conducted in the Indian sub-continent have revealed the long continuation of the punch-marked currency in different parts of India,[61] which is further confirmed by literary and epigraphical evidences, as will be presently seen.

Buddhaghosha, the celebrated Buddhist author, who flourished in about 5th century A.D., refers to the prevalence of the "old blue *Kārshāpaṇa*" (generally identified with the old punch-marked coins), side by side with the new *Kārshāpaṇa*, called *Rudradāmaka* (identified with the silver coins of Rudradāman I, C. 130-55 A.D. of Śaka-Satraps of Western India), during his time.[62] The *Vinayatthamañjushā*, a commentary on Buddhaghosha's *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī* (commentary on the *Pātimokkha*) seems to indicate that the old type *Kārshāpaṇas* were manufactured in accordance with the *Paurāṇa-śāśtra* by impressing symbols on them and they resembled the "blue *kārshāpaṇa*".[63] This shows that the old punch-marked coins which were also called *purāṇa* (old) were in active circulation atleast upto 5th century A.D.

The abundant finds of the punch-marked coins throughout India would suggest that they were issued and circulated by a centrally organized monetary system. Their abundant finds gave, led the scholars to designate them as "universal" series of punch-marked coins. They appear to have circulated throughout the country by way of trade and commeree through various mercantile guilds, under the control of some paramount power which had influence over extensive areas of the country. Probably, with the rise of Magadhan imperialism, a well-organised monetary system was established in the country, under the supervision of the State authority on the minting of coins, which is evidenced from Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*.[64] And during the Mauryan rule this monetary system was firmly established throughout the country, with the expansion of the empire. Prior to the

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61. For stratigraphic evidence of coins in various excavations, see, S. C. Roy, *Stratigraphic Evidence of coins in Indian Excavations and some allied issues* (Num. Notes & Monographs, No. 8) ; P. L. Gupta, *Bibliography of the Hoards of Punch-marked coins of Ancient India* ; A. K. Narain and L. Gopal (Ed.), *Seminar papers on the Chronology of the Punch-marked coins*, pp. 77-80.
62. *JNSI*, Vol. XIII, pp. 188-89 ; Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins*, p. 99.
63. *Ibid*, p. 99.
64. See Chapter XII.

expansion of the Magadhan empire, the so-called "local" type punch-marked coins, which are generally taken to be the earliest metallic currency of India, and found confined to certain localities, were prevalent in some parts of the country. They are said to be the coins of the ancient *Janapadas*, which is corroborated by their finds in the areas included in various *Janapadas*, such as the so-called Kosala type "local" punch-marked coins in silver, exclusively found in western part of Orissa (i.e., Bolangir-Sambalpur-Kalahandi regions) and the Chhattisgarh region of Madhya Pradesh, which in ancient times, formed parts of the Kosala *Janapada*.

We face many difficulties when we take up the study of the earliest chronological limit, when exactly the so-called "universal" or "Imperial" series of punch-marked coins were introduced in Orissa. As there is no sure evidence to show the rule of the Nandas in Orissa, it seems probable, that they came to Orissa during the Mauryan rule, with the annexation of Kaliṅga to the Magadhan empire. In the absence of any chronological evidence, prior to the Aśokan invasion of Kaliṅga, it is not safe to suggest any earlier date for these coins in Orissa.

As already stated earlier Kosala type "local" punch-marked coins were found during excavation at Sisupalgarh at a level attributed to about 2nd century A.D., besides the find of so-called "universal" type at the same level. This find would suggest that the local type coins were also in use side by side with the "Imperial" coins for many years. As we know, they were in circulation for a long period, in the Punjab[65] and South India[66], as revealed by several archaeological excavations. But in Orissa, no such scientific digging except at Sisupalgarh has so far been conducted, which may throw welcome light on the chronology of the punch-marked coins. However, some archaeological as well as epigraphical evidences open a new line of approach on this problem, so far as the continuity and long circulation of these coins are concerned. As we already know, the discovery of the terracotta coin-moulds for preparing punch-marked coins, from the excavation at Sisupalgarh at the level attributed to about 4th century A.D. suggests that by this period, manufacturing of these coins by punching devices had already become a thing of the past. Although, sometimes, these moulds, which have also been found in other parts of India[67], and attributed to 2nd-3rd century A.D. from several considerations, have been taken to be of forgerers'

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65. *ASI*, *AR*, 1926-27, p. 229.
66. P. L. Gupta, "Economic Data from Punch-marked Coins", in A. M. Shastri (Ed), *Coins & Early Indian Economy*, pp. 48-49 ; T. V. Mahalingam, "Chronology of the Punch-marked Coins of South India", in A. K. Narain & L. Gopal (Ed), *Seminar Papers on the Chronology of the Punch-marked Coins*, pp. 19-23.
67. P. L. Gupta, *Punch-marked Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum*, pp. 130-135.

contrivances, they also suggest that the punch-marked coins were in good demand, and still continued to be in circulation in the market, otherwise there is no reason to manufacture obsolete coins with the help of moulds. The moulds also throw interesting light on the cessation of manufacturing these coins with punching devices. All the moulds so far discovered bear impressions of coins, made from worn out pieces, belonging to pre-Mauryan and Mauryan period, as the impressions on moulds, in most cases, are not very clear. The worn out condition of most of the coins found in Orissa would also suggest their long circulation in the market before their hoarding. These coins do not reveal traces of their manufacturing by mould. It seems probable that the fresh manufacturing by punching devices had ceased to exist after the down-fall of the Mauryan empire and the supply of punch-marked coins from a centrally organised monetary system to different parts of the country probably stopped during this period. But the abundant supply of these coins during their production period, was sufficient to meet the local demand, and served the purpose of currency during their post-production period for a long time. Further, it may be noted here that the hoards discovered in Orissa do not show any fresh manufacturing after the period of their original currency, i.e. after the cessation of supply from the central organization. The symbols on them do not appear to be changed, neither any change in their fabrics is noticed. No new symbols, those could be attributable to the period after the decline of the Magadhan imperialism, have yet been identified. It is also not possible, at the present state of the coins, to distinguish the old and new symbols, and to detect coins of an earlier fabric and of later fabric, within the coins of one and the same class, group or variety in different hoards. If the coins with various symbols were issued at different times, their fabrics would distinguish them from one another. The practice of continuous hoarding due to their high metallic value, may be one of the reasons of non-manufacturing of fresh coins and people did not feel the necessity of issuing fresh coins. The old coins were sufficiently available to meet their needs. The practice of hoarding also led to another curious and interesting phenomenon associated with the punch-marked coins. The circulation of the imitation Kushāṇa or the so-called Puri-Kushāṇa coins in copper from about 3rd century A.D., which are abundantly found throughout Orissa, probably led to the disappearance of the silver punch-marked coins from the Orissan market, at least for some time. They were probably, hoarded during this time, for their high metallic value and occasionally used in transactions. Epigraphical records or any other source are silent about the use of silver coins during this period. Of course, reference to the use of copper coins is also conspicuously absent in these sources. But the frequent use of the word *hiraṇya* denoting "price in metal"

in the inscriptions of 5th-6th centuries would suggest the use of metallic money continued from the earlier period. It is interesting to note that references to silver money as *rūpya* or *rūpaka*, calculated in *Pala* standard weight are frequently met with in the epigraphical records of the 7th-8th centuries and of the subsequent periods.[68] Several early medieval royal families of Orissa, the Bhaumakaras (C. 8th-10th century A.D.), the Somavaṁśīs (C. 10th-11th century A.D.), the early Eastern Gaṅgas (C. 7th-11 century A.D.) of Kaliṅganagara and several semi-independent, faudatory rulers, have frequently mentioned in the copper plate grants issued by them, the coin-name *rūpya* or *rūpaka*, sometime in its abbreviated form as *ru* with the amount calculated in the *Pala* measure of weight, prevalent during this period, in connection with the annual rent payable for the grant. Curiously, enough, it is to be noted here that, none of the above ruling families issued any coin of their own. No silver coin which can be attributed to any dynasty ruling outside Orissan territory, belonging to any part of India are known to have come to light in Orissa, which may be taken to have been circulated here for currency purpose. Instead we have only, several hoards of silver punch-marked coins. It is likely to think that the early medieval royal dynasties of Orissa did not feel the necessity of issuing fresh coins, as the old coins, particularly the silver punch-marked coins, having definite metallic value, were abundantly available for commercial transactions. Besides, cowrie shells and the ancient system of barter of agricultural goods served the purpose of day-to-day and smaller transactions. The commodities for day-to-day use were undoubtedly cheap as could be purchased by cowries, hence discouraged the ruling authorities to issue fresh coins.

Thus the foregoing discussion will clearly show that the silver punch-marked coins were in circulation in Orissan market till longer period than 4th century A.D. But, it is difficult to say, at the present state, if the symbols on these coins had any significance during this late period, since it is clearly known from the epigraphical records, that these coins were measured in *pala* standard weight and used in transactions. It seems probable that these coins were regarded as silver bullions, the significance of the symbols being forgotten by the people in course of time, and higher commercial transactions were carried on by weighing them according to the *pala* weight standard.

Weight standard of the punch-marked coins

The silver punch-marked coins of the present series, generally identified with *kārshāpaṇa* or *paṇa* coins of ancient literary texts were also known as *purāṇa* or *dharaṇa* as known from the *Manu-smṛiti*. The name *dharaṇa* is mentioned by Kauṭilya in his *Arthaśāstra*. The name *purāṇa* indicated the old coins, the weight

68. See Chapter XII, for the currency system prevalent in early and medieval Orissa.

standard of which is mentioned in the works of the *Smriti* writers like Manu[69], Yājñavalkya[70], Vishṇu[71]. They refer to the weight of the *purāṇa* or *dharaṇa* as 32 *ratis* (58.56 grains or 3,794 grams). The name *kārshāpaṇa* seems to have been derived from *karsha* and the weight of one *karsha* was 80 *raktikās* or *ratis* (146.4 grains or 9.486 grams), as known from Pāṇini and also from later writers like Kauṭilya, Amarsasiṁha (6th century A.D., in his *Amarakosha*) and even during about 11th century A.D. by Kshirasvāmin in his commentary on *Amarakosha*. It is seen that the authorities apparently differed in regard to the weight of *kārshāpaṇa*. But it is certain that the original weight of *kārshāpaṇa*, although theoretically was 80 *ratis*. And interestingly enough, we have no silver punch-marked coins of this weight which are generally identified with the *kārshāpaṇas*. According to *Amarakosha*, the weight of one *karsha* was equal to 16 *ādya-mashas*, one *ādya-masha* being 5 *guñjās* or *ratis* (*abrus precatorious* or the red and black seed) in weight.[72] This weight standard is supported by Kauṭilya in his *Arthaśāstra*. But the weight of *kārshāpaṇa*, *purāṇa* or *dharaṇa*, as 32 *ratis* or 58.56 grains, mentioned by the *Smriti* writers, and identified this weight with those of the silver punch-marked coins by scholars, is scarcely ever attained in the known specimens so far discovered, several scholars have analysed the weight of a large number of these coins discovered in different parts of India. Thus the average weight obtained by Elliot while examining the punch-marked coins from South India, was 47.10 grains[73], Thomas obtained 47.69 grains, by Cunningham was 47.82 grains[74]. Walsh observed on the weight standard of these coins, after a study of over 2000 pieces, "Owing to the Indian practice of continuous hoarding, many coins in the hoards have been hoarded when new and have had little or no circulation and are practically in mint condition. Such coins seldom exceed 54 grains and do not approach the theoretical standard".[75] P. L. Gupta has rightly observed while writing in the context of the Amaravati hoard that in the process of the manufacturing of the punch-marked coins by cutting the metal sheets and adjusting the weight by cutting out the excess weight, it could never be possible to have the pieces of accurate standard weight. According to him the point of concentration of the standard weight was perhaps between 51 and 54 grains. It will thus be seen that, although theoretically the weight standard of

69. *Manu-Smriti*, VIII, 133ff.
70. *Yājñavalkya-Smriti*, I, 363ff.
71. *Vishṇu-Smriti*, IV, 4ff ; The name *Purāṇa* probably indicating a punch-marked coin in silver is also found in one of the inscriptions of the Kushāṇa period— EI, Vol. XXI, pp. 55-61.
72. *Vaiśyavarga*, pp. 85-86.
73. Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*, p. 50.
74. Cunningham, *CAI*, p. 44ff.
75. Walsh, *Punch-marked Coins from Taxila*, p. 16

purāṇa or *dharaṇa* was fixed at first at 80 *ratis*, was reduced to 32 *ratis*, during the period of Manu (C. 2nd century A.D. ?) and Yājñavalkya (C. 3rd century A.D. ?), the actual specimens so far discovered do not exactly conform to this weight standard. It may be pointed out here, in this connection, that in the early medieval period, these coins were calculated in the *pala* standard weight, as stated earlier. It is interesting to note that according to Manu and Yājñavalkya, the *pala*, otherwise known as *śatamāna* is a money weight of silver, equal to 10 *dharaṇas* or 160 silver *māska* or 320 *krishṇalas* (*ratis* or *guñjā* berry of the red and black seed).[76] Kshīrasvāmin's well-known commentary on *Amarkosha* explains the weight of *Śatamāna* as equal to one *pala* of silver (*rūpya-pala*).[77] It seems to suggest that there was no coin weighing one *pala*, i.e., 320 *ratis* and this supposition is strengthened by the mention of several fractions of the *pala* weight standard in some early medieval epigraphical records of Orissa. Thus the Madras Museum Plates of the time of Narendradhavala[78], the Phulasara copper plate grant of Kīrttirājadeva[79], etc., fix the annual rent of the granted lands with silver money with its fractions; weighed in *pala* standard weight. It may be pointed out here that no silver coin according to the fractions of the weight standard has ever been discovered and this suggests that the coins, which were approximately cut into pieces, varying in weight from one another, not conforming to any theoretical weight standard, so far as the individual coins are concerned, were used in commercial transactions by weighing the pieces in *pala* standard weight. This practice also seems to be in vogue, during earlier period when the silver punch-marked coins were actually introduced in Orissa. These coins seem to be in use only during higher commercial transactions, as they had high metallic value. Cowries and other media of exchange prevalent; throughout the ages were sufficient to meet the day-to-day needs of the people.[80] Thus there was no difficulty in using these punch-marked coins by weighing according to the theoretical weight for higher transactions.

Authority of minting of the punch-marked coins

It is sometimes held that the punch-marked coinage was a private coinage issued by guilds and silver-smiths with the permission of the ruling authorities.[81] Some scholars after systematic studies of the coins from different parts of India, also suggested that they were issued by a central authority or by some ruling

76. Cf. D. C. Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins*, p. 59.
77. *Ibid*, p. 51.
78. *EI*, Vol, XXVIII, pp. 44ff. ; also see Ch. XII.
79. *JAHRS*, Vol. III, pp. 30ff. and see also Ch. XII.
80. For the various media of exchange along with coined money prevalent in Orissa, see Chapter XII.
81. Cunningham, *CCIM*, Vol. I, p. 133 ; D. C. Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins*, pp. 101ff.

families.[82] As evidenced from *Arthaśāstra* already stated earlier, that some sort of state control over the minting and circulation of the coins was in existence atleast during the time of Kauṭilya. There were state officials in charge of manufacturing and testing the genuineness of the coins before their entry into the royal treasury. During the Mauryan rule, with the expansion of the empire, it seems that the silver punch-marked coins were introduced in different parts of the empire, through trade and commerce from a centrally organized monetary system. Thus they passed through different moneyers, bankers and mercantile guilds for which so many minute reverse marks as the signs of authenticity are noticed on these coins. These minute reverse marks would also suggest that the goldsmiths were often entrusted with the manufacturing of these coins with the approval of the royal authority. Thus, while uniformity in the obverse marks which were probably the symbols used by the issuing authority, i.e., the State, can be noticed, there was no regularity in reverse marks which were the signs of numerous guilds through whose hands the coins passed. And before they were handled by the guilds, the royal officers were first to test their genuineness.

But at a later period, after the decline of the Magadhan empire, the continuity of circulation of these coins as evidenced from various sources, stated above, would suggest that the State had scarcely any control over their minting and circulation in various parts of the country. It is now known that after the disintegration of the Mauryan empire, there was no such paramount power any where in India to control the minting of the punch-marked coins which continued to be in circulation in various parts of the country. This is evidenced from the literary as well as epigraphical records of later period. Buddhaghosha refers to the "old blue Kārshāpaṇa" which were minted side by side with the new *kārshāpaṇa* as already stated above. The epigraphical records of the time of the Imperial Kushāṇas[83] refer to the *purāṇas* or the silver punch-marked coins, the Śātavāhana epigraphs also mention *kārshāpaṇa* denoting these coins.[84] Although these evidences do not clearly state the continuity of manufacturing of these coins with the help of punching, their continuity as currency side by side with other coins in various parts of India including Orissa is evidently clear. This shows the ruling authorities had rarely any control over the circulation of various types of coins of different metals of different periods in their respective kingdoms. Further, the above view will find support from the facts furnished by the numismatic history of early medieval Orissa, which reveal that the ruling authorities of different parts of Orissa had no control over the circulation of the old punch-marked coins, continued to be used as currency in their kingdoms side by side coins of other kingdoms, of non-local origin, particularly coins of high metallic value.[85]

82. *Ibid.*, pp. 101ff.
83. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 166.
84. *Ibid.*, pp. 194-195,
85. See Chapter XII.

CHAPTER TWO

COINS OF THE SATAVAHANAS IN ORISSA

The period intervening between the end of Khāravela's rule and the rise of Samudragupta is generally taken by scholars as the dark period in Orissan history. We get very little information of fragmentary nature about the political conditions of different parts of Orissa during this period from archaeological sources. On the basis of inscriptions and numismatic evidence scholars have tried to establish Śātavāhana rule over a part of Kaliṅga during this so called dark period of 2nd-3rd centuries A.D.[1] But very few coins of the Śātavāhanas in Orissa have come to the notice of the scholars, although a large number of coins of different rulers of this dynasty have been discovered in the adjoining provinces of Andhra Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh. However, archaeological excavation at Sisupalgarh[2] and sculptural evidence discovered at Bhubaneswar and its vicinity have brought to light cultural contacts between the Śātavāhanas and Kaliṅga. With the materials available so far, we shall try to have a glimpse into the supposed Śātavāhana supremacy over part of Kaliṅga during the 2nd-3rd centuries A.D.

The Śātavāhanas who flourished in the Deccan during the first century B.C. and dominated the political scene of the area for about three centuries, were the earliest rulers to issue inscribed coins in the South. So far as the coins of the Śātavāhanas are concerned we do not possess them in such large numbers as in the other parts of the Deccan which were included in their empire. Rather, we face many difficulties to establish the Śātavāhana rule on the evidence of their coins so far discovered in Orissa. If we take up the number of hoards of their coins found in this part of the country, we will be disappointed because almost all of them have been discovered outside the modern Orissan boundary. The lead coins attributed to the latter Śātavāhanas are recorded in the excavation report as worn out pieces, "only two of them are legible, one bearing the well known lion type of some of the Āndhra coins (E. J. Rapson, *Catalogue of Coins of Andhra Dynasty*, London, 1908, Plate III, 36-38) and the other showing a head which occurs for the first time on a lead coin. Of the remaining 12 pieces, which resemble the last mentioned coin in shape, size, thinness of fabric and presumably also type, two pieces show part of

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1. R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 83 ; E. J. Rapson, *CHI*, II, p. 313 ; B. V. Krishna Rao, *A History of Early Āndhradeśa*, p. 384; Yazdani, *EHD*. Vol.I-VI, p. 118 ; *UUHO*, Vol. I, pp. 415 ff.
2. *Ancient India*, No. 5, pp. 62 ff.

the so-called Ujjain symbol which is a characteristic of the Andhra, Eran and Ujjain coinages, while others are too worn out to show any details".[3] A few copper coins preserved in the State Museum, Bhubaneswar (about 13 coins) were brought from Nagpur. The findspot of these coins as recorded in the Museum is Tarhala near Mangrul in Akola district of Madhya Pradesh.[4] Two Potin coins in vary much worn out condition were also collected from the same hoard and are now in the State Museum at Bhubaneswar. There are also two lead coins probably collected from Sisupalgarh site. But they are too much worn out to show any details of the symbols and legends. They are small nearly round pieces with an approximate diameter of 1.5 cm. The obverse symbols on them are completely worn out and have become very much blurred but the Ujjain symbol on the reverse is slightly visible. The coins of the Śātavāhanas in Orissa can be viewed under a wider geographical area rather than Orissa alone, as we have also report of discovery of different varieties of Śātavāhana coins in the East Godavari region in modern Andhra Pradesh, a portion of which formed the ancient province of Kaliṅga.[5]

The few Śātavāhana copper coins in the collection of the State Museum reveal that some of them belong to Kumbha Śātakarṇi and legends on others read *Siri-Sāta* or *Sātakaṇisa* due to their fragmentary nature.

Śātavāhana coins are the earliest and most copious inscribed coins in the Deccan, having greater affinity to the northern than to the southern coinage. They have been found abundantly in Malwa, Krishna-Godavari region in Andhra Pradesh, Tripuri, Maharashtra and Karnataka. The metals used for this coinage are, copper, lead, and potin. Numerous silver coins of Nahapāna restruck by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi have also been found. Silver portrait coins issued by some of the later members of the dynasty are also known. But they were not so widely circulated as their other metallic coins. They are generally found in the districts that had previously formed the part of the Śaka kingdom. The weight and size of the Śātavāhana coins vary widely thus making it difficult to determine the weight standard and denominations. The legend found on their coins are usually in Brāhmī and the language is Prakrit. The symbols in their coins are generally lion, elephant; horse, bow, hill etc. on the observe and on the reverse are the Ujjain and mountain symbols. Their coins are found in die-struck, cast as well as punch-marked types.[6] The metallic contents and fabric also seem to have changed from place to place in different parts of the Śātavāhana empire, which indicate that their coins had a

3. *Ancient India*, No. 5, p. 97.
4. For the Tarhala Hoard of the Śātavāhana coins, see, *IHQ*, Vol. XVI, p. 503 ; *JNSI*, Vol. II, p. 83 ; *PIHC*, Vol. VII, p. 104.
5. K. C. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, p. 208.
6. A. V. Narasimha Murthy, *Coins of Karnataka*, p. 49.

very wide circulation. In Vidisa region Śātavāhana coins of punch-marked type have been found while at other places we have die-struck as well as cast pieces. Some of their lead coins showing a ship on the obverse and Ujjain symbol on the reverse indicate the prevalence of maritime trade and commerce.[7] They have been found in the Coromandel coast in the South.

Coins issued by many kings of this dynasty have come to light in other parts of India also. There are coins of Śrī-Śātakarṇi, Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, Vāśishṭhīputra Pulumāvi, Yajña Śātakarṇi, Kumbha Śātakarṇi, Chaṇḍasati and others.

The Hātigumphā inscription of Khāravela[8] records that in the second year of his reign without paying any heed to Śātakarṇi he led his army to Kanhabemnā against the city of Asikanagara which possibly not included in Śātakarṇi's dominion. As there is no indication in the inscription of any trial of strength between Khāravela and Śātakarṇi it may be presumed that atleast from the time of Khāravela's reign there was cultural contact between the Āndhra-Śātavāhanas and the Orissan people.

The Śātvāhanas held sway over the coastal region of Andhra Pradesh. Inscriptions of the later Śātavāhanas have been discovered at Kodavali[9] situated in the Pithapuram Zamindari of the East-Godavari district which also formed a part of ancient south Kaliṅga. Archaeological excavations at Salihundam, Ramatirtham and Samgharama[10] have yielded a number of coins of the later Śātavāhana rulers who are said to have ruled this region during 2nd-3rd centuries A.D. Coins of the earlier rulers have also been found in large numbers from various excavated sites in the Krishna and Guntur districts.[11] The inscription of Vāśishṭhiputra Pulumāvi along with large number of coins issued by him have been discovered at Amaravati.[12]

The Nasik cave inscription of Vāśishṭhiputra Pulumāvi, of the year 19; reveals that at least a portion of the Southern part of Kaliṅga was included in the Śātavāhana empire during the time of his predecessor Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi.[13] This inscription indicates the geographical extent of Gautamīputra's empire and describes him as the lord of the mountains of Vijha (identified with Sanskrit Vindhya), Chhavata (Sk. Ṛikshavat), Pāri-chāta (Sk. Pāriyātra), Sahya, Kanhagiri (Sk. Kṛishṇagiri), Macha, Siriṭana, Malaya, Mahida (Sk. Mahendra), Setagiri (Sk.

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7. *JNSI*, Vol. III, pp. 43-45.
8. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 207.
9. *EI*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 316-19.
10. *ASI, AR*, (1907-08), pp. 19-20.
11. M. Rama Rao, *Śātavāhana Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Govt. Museum*, 1961.
12. *EI*, Vol. XXXII, p. 83.
13. *EI*, Vol. VIII, p. 60f.

Śvetagiri) and Chakora. Of these Mahida or Mahendragiri may be taken to be in the southern part of Orissa which has retained the same name since early times.[14] Although scholars have taken Kṛishṇagiri as the modern Kanheri near Bombay, there is also another mountain range close to Mahendragiri in the southern part of Orissa which has retained the same name as Kṛishṇagiri till the present day. Kṛishṇagiri has been referred to in several early epigraphical records of Orissa, which is located in Ganjam district with rich archaeological remains. It was included in the kingdom of the Śailodbhavas during 7th century A.D. and was a famous centre of Jainism as known from their epigraphic records.[15] The hill with its surrounding region was organised into a *vishaya* or district called Kṛishṇagiri-*vishaya* during the rule of this dynasty. Its exact location is in the modern Khallikote region of the Ganjam district in Orissa. It marked the boundary between the ancient north and south Kaliṅga. Mahida or Mahendragiri has been identified with the famous Mahendragiri range in the same Ganjam district of Orissa. It is also referred to in several of the early medieval epigraphic records as well as in ancient Indian literature. The Eastern ghat range of mountains between Mahānadī and the Godāvarī rivers, a part of which is still called *Mahinda Malei* is no other than the mountain mentioned in the Nasik record. Thus it is evident that atleaet a portion of south Kaliṅga was included in the Śātavāhana empire during the time of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi. A portion of south Kosala was also included in his empire as evidenced from the Chinese Pilgrim Yuan Chwang's account which states that Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li, identified with Parimalagiri or the modern Gandhamārdangiri, situated on the borders of modern Sambalpur and Bolangir districts of Orissa was included in the empire of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi.[16] It is also now corroborated by the discovery of lead coins of Śātakarṇi I in the South Kosala region. The tradition recorded by Yuan Chwang reveals that Nāgārjuna (c. 2nd century A.D.) lived in the monastery of Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li (Parimalagiri) built by Aśoka to the south of the capital city of Dakshiṇa Kosala whose king at that time was So-to-p'o-ho, i.e. Śātavāhana, and the personal name of the king was Shi-yen-te-ka, the corruptions of the name Śātakarṇi.[17] The discovery of the copper coin of Śivaśrī Āpilaka, probably a later Śātavāhana ruler in Chhattisgarh region also corroborates the above evidence of Śātavāhana rule in Dakshiṇa Kosala.

Further the *Yuga Purāṇa* section of the *Gārgīsaṁhitā* reveals that atleast for

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14. N. K. Sahu, *UUHO*, Vol. I, p. 417.
15. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 143 ; for other inscriptions of the Śailodbhavas, see, S. N. Rajaguru, *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. I, Part II, 157-164.
16. Sahu, *Op.Cit.*, p. 417, and Note, 5 ; also Watter's On Yuan Chwant's Travel, II, p. 201.
17. *HCIP*, Vol. II, p. 210 and Note 1.

some time, a portion of Kaliṅga was under the Śātavāhanas. The relevant passage states (expressed by the words, *Kaliṅga-Sātarājyarthī*) that a king named Sāta (taken to be a king of Śātavāhana lineage exercised his sway over the Kaliṅga country at the time of the invasion by the powerful Śaka chief.[18] But this evidence of the Yuga Purāṇa cannot be taken as conclusive for the problem of the Śātavāhana supremacy in Kaliṅga.

Although we have no definite proof to show the continuity of the Śātavāhana supremacy in the south Kaliṅga and a portion of south Kosala regions after Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and Vāsishṭhīputra Pulumāvi, it is certain that there was economic and cultural contact between the Śātavāhanas and Kaliṅga. This is evident from some of the archaeological discoveries at Bhubaneswar. The Yaksha images discovered from a village named Dumdumā[19], situated near the Khaṇḍagiri and Udayagiri hills at Bhubaneswar indicate influences of Śātavāhana culture. They have close similarities with the Yaksha images belonging to the Śātavāhana period found at Sanchi. Apart from the lead coins of the later Śātavāhanas as stated earlier, the archaeological excavations at Sisupalgarh near Bhubaneswar also yielded, the black-and-red and rouletted wares, terracotta bullae and ear-ornaments, as generally noticed in other excavations at ancient sites in the South.[20] A clay seal found at Sisupalgarh written in Brāhmī scripts of 3rd or 4th century A.D. reads *Amatasa Pasanakasa* (Sk. *Amātyasya Prasannakasya*).[21] The scripts have close resemblance with those found on the coins of the Śātavāhanas. It may be possible that it came to Orissa from the South. The earliest Śaiva sculptures found at Bhubaneswar have also close similarity with images in Karle and Kanheri caves, assigned to the late Śātavāhana period. The evidence of a few lead coins along with these sculptural discoveries would indicate close cultural contact between the Śātavāhanas and the people of Kaliṅga, though not political expansion. The discovery of art objects having close affinity with Śātavāhana art cannot be regarded as a definite proof of the inclusion of the areas where they have been discovered. There are several instances of the movement of art objects, migration of artists, style and artisans from one country to another.[22] The discovery of the lead coins of the later Śātavāhanas indicate trade relation or movement of pilgrims to this area, though the inclusion of the area around the Mahendragiri, i.e. southern part of Kaliṅga and South Kosala regions cannot be ruled out as evidenced from the inscriptions, of the Śātavāhanas. Possibly the relationship between the Śātavāhanas continued upto the 3rd century A.D. after which we notice certain

18. D. K. Ganguli, *Historical Geography & Dynastic History of Orissa*, pp. 148-149.
19. K. C. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, p. 202.
20. *Ancient India*, No. 5, pp. 62-105ff.
21. *OHRJ*, Vol. III, No. 2, p. 106.
22. S. K. Saraswati, *A Survey of Indian Sculptures*, p. 62 ; *EI*, Vol. XXXV, p. 209.

influences of Kushāṇa culture in Orissa. It is believed by scholars on the basis of Sisupalgarh find that lead coins were more popular in Orissa during the 3rd-4th centuries A.D. and were in circulation "at the same time as the Kushāṇa and Puri-Kushāṇa coins".[23] This view is untenable on the ground that nowhere in Orissa any hoard of lead coins or even stray pieces have so far been discovered. It is also held that there are lead ores in the neighbouring district of Sambalpur, other sources of this metal were in the Manbhum in Bengal and Surguja and Raipur in the Central Provinces.[24] Thus in the absence of any lead coins found so far except at Sisupalgarh it is difficult to accept in the present state of our knowledge, the view that the lead coins were more popular during the period mentioned above. On the other hand copper coins of the imitation Kushāṇa type which are known to have been in circulation during the same period, are found in abundance throughout the length and breadth of Orissa.

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23. *Ancient India*, No. 5, pp. 97ff; also see, Ajay Mitra, Shastri (Ed.). *Coins & Early Indian Economy*, p. 116; *JAIH*, Vol. I, Parts 1-2, p. 42.
24. G. M. Srivastava, "The Bearing of Śātavāha Coins on the Economic conditions of Western India", A. M. Shastri (Ed.), *Coins and Early Indian Economy*, p. 116.

CHAPTER THREE

KUSHANA COINS AND THEIR IMITATIONS

The abundant finds of a type of copper coins in Orissa, resembling to a certain extent, to some of the copper coins of the Imperial Kushāṇas[1] have attracted the attention of the numismatists since long. The discovery of some gold and copper Kushāṇa originals in this region, although, small in number, and these imitation Kushāṇa types in copper have also created many conflicting theories among the scholars. Several controversial opinions have been extended on the question of their bearing upon the history of Orissa and on the period of their circulation here. Hoernle[2], Vincent Smith[3], K. P. Jayaswal[4], R. D. Banerji[5], S. K. Bose[6], E. H. C. Walsh[7], A. S. Altekar[8], P. Acharya[9], A. Banerji[10], T. N. Ramachandran[11], Allan[12], P. L. Gupta[13], among others, have done valuable researches on various problems concerning this currency in Orissa. In spite of extensive research, they have not been able to reach to a definite conclusion and certain problems still remain unsolved. A proper and systematic arrangement and analysis of these coins would certainly lead to their proper interpretations. Their historical value can be assessed from these interpretations which would definitely lead us to a satisfactory conclusion. So, in order to know the historical significance of these numismatic finds, it is necessary to arrange these so-called coins of the Kushāṇas and their imitation types, into various categories, according to their nature.

Gold coins of the Kushāṇa rulers in Orissa

The number of Kushāṇa gold coins, so far discovered from Orissa have not exceeded more than two or three. Their conspicuous absence in large number, in this region, is interesting to note. But scholars have not paid much attention to the

1. The term Imperial Kushāṇas denotes here the Kushāṇa rulers belonging to the groups of Kadphises I and Kanishka I especially the latter group.
2. *PASB*, 1895, pp. 61ff.
3. V. Smith, *CCIM*, Calcutta, Vol. I, pp. 64-65.
4. *Ann. Rep. of the Num. Soc. of Ind.*, 1936, p. 11.
5. R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, pp. 115ff.
6. *Indian Culture*, Vol. III, pp. 727ff.
7. *JBORS*, Vol. V, pp. 73ff.
8. *JNSI*, Vol. XII, pp. 1-4, pp. 121-23ff.
9. *Ibid*, Vol. II, pp. 125-26ff.
10. *Ibid*, Vol. XIII, pp. 107-109.
11. *Ibid*, p. 69.
12. Allan, *BMCI*, pp. 205-209.
13. *JNSI*, Vol, XXXVI, pp. 25-53.

paucity of gold coins of the Kushāṇas and mostly concentrated on their copper coinage found in Orissa.

There are a few gold coins of the Imperial Kushāṇa rulers preserved in the Coin-cabinet of the Orissa State Museum. But it is difficult to know their provenance as they are not properly recorded in the Museum. Out of the six coins, No. 1 of Plate XLIII and Fig. 2 is reported to have been collected during 1942-53 from a private person at Cuttack. Out of the remaining five coins, one belongs to Wema Kadphises (No. 2 of the same plate as above), two to Huvishka (Nos. 5 and 6) and two to Vāsudeva (Nos. 3 and 4). The coin No. 1 also belongs to Vāsudeva. It is cut into two, dividing it into two equal pieces. The upper portion is attached with a loop intended for using it as an ornament. Both the pieces measure together 1.9 cm. in diameter excluding the loop attached at the top and weigh 8.467 gms. The other five pieces are of usual coin types of Huvishka, Vāsudeva and Wema Kadphises. Their weights vary from 3.568 gms. to 7.867 gms. Most probably these coins were collected for the Museum from outside Orissa. P. Acharya observed, earlier, "No gold coins of the Kushāṇa kings have been found any where in Orissa, but such coins are known from Chotanagpur and Bengal and from that it is expected that Kushāṇa gold coins were circulating as currency in Orissa also".[14]

But gold coin of Huvishka along with some of its cast impressions in gold were discovered from Bonai, in the district of Sundargarh in Orissa in 1969.[15] This coin was discovered together with broken pieces of one gold ring, broken pieces of a gold chain and three thin and round pieces of the cast impressions in gold of the same coin. Their exact history of discovery is not known. This coin like that of the coin of Vāsudeva from Cuttack (Coin No. 1 of Plate XLIII, Fig. 2) described above, also has a loop attached at the top for hanging it as a pendant. It weights 8.500 gms. together with the loop and 2 cm. in diameter. The two thin pieces which are impressions of the same coin weight about 1.600 gms. and 1.750 gms. They have two holes at the top meant for suspension. They bear only on one side the impression of the bust of Huvishka which is also the obverse device of the looped coin. Third piece is blank having no impression on both the sides. All these pieces along with the coin were collected for the Orissa State Museum where they are now preserved. The looped coin of Huvishka has on the obverse the half-length figure of the king facing left wearing helmet, holding club in the right hand and an indistinct object in the left, legend in Greek letters reading the epithet and name of the king as found in the coins of Huvishka. *Shaonano Shao Oeshki Koshano* i.e. the king of kings Huvishka, the Kushāṇa. The reverse depicts, four-armed Śiva standing to left, nimbate holding a small drum in the upper right hand, a vase in the lower

14. *JNSI*, Vol. II, p. 125.

15. *JNSI*, Vol. XXXVII, Part I, pp. 76-82.

right hand, a trident in the upper left and an antelope in the lower left hand. The Greek legend to the right *OESHO* and the Kushāṇa monogram within the dotted border. The loop is attached at the top.

The looped coin of Vāsudeva from Cuttack depicts on the obverse, king standing to the left with the right hand on the small altar and the left hand holding a trident, very corrupted legend in Greek letters reading the name of the king with epithet around the dotted border.[16] The reverse depicts Śiva having three heads and two arms, standing to front with the bull behind, the Kushāṇa monogram and the legend *OKPO* within the dotted border.

Similarly, the interesting Kushāṇa-Roman gold medallion, which was discovered during the archaeological excavation at Sisupalgarh[17] near Bhubaneswar in 1948, is also attached with a loop intended to be used as a pendant. It bears on one side, a Kushāṇa coin-motif i.e., king standing and offering oblation with a Brāhmī legend reading (*Mahārāja*) *Rājadhasa Dhamadamadhara* (*sa*) and the other side has a Roman motif of a king's head with some illegible letters. This medallion was discovered at a level assigned to C. 4th century A.D. A. S. Altekar on the basis of the Brāhmī legend and the Kushāṇa motif, attributed this medallion to be a coin issued by a ruler of Orissa named Dharmadāmadhara who was a Jaina and belonged to the Muruṇḍa family. Following him, a group of scholars[18] also believed that the piece was issued by an Orissan ruler who was a Muruṇḍa-Kushāṇa. But all of them have ignored the loop attached to the coin and also the fact that the motifs on both the sides of the coin were adopted from two altogether different coins issued by two different persons.

A careful examination of the gold coins having Kushāṇa coin-motifs described above which are so far known to have been found in Orissa, would reveal that they are either cast-imitations from the originals or in the nature of ornaments. It is also to be noted that no hoard of gold coins of the Kushāṇas in their original form are reported to have been discovered in Orissa nor even in the Eastern Indian region as a whole. A few coins as ornaments and a few genuine coins as stray finds have also been found in other parts of Eastern India.[19] They cannot be taken as coined money issued by the Imperial Kushāṇa rulers in this part of the country. There is also no reason to think that the Kushāṇas circulated their original gold coins in the areas actually occupied by them and imitations or in the form of ornaments in other parts, such as Orissa, Bengal, Bihar etc. P. L. Gupta has rightly observed that the coins

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16. Cf. A. Cunningham, *Coins of the Indo-Scythians, Śakas and Kushāṇas*, Plate XXIV, No. 8.
17. *Ancient India*, No. 5, p. 97 ; *JNSI*, Vol. XII, pp. 1-4.
18. *JNSI*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 37-42 ; Vol. XXXV, pp. 127-141.
19. *Ibid*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 30-33.

found in the form of ornaments or stray finds of them "are no direct evidence for any conclusion related to political history. Any type of coin, without any consideration of time and place may fascinate people to apopt it as ornament or copy it for the same purpose. It is not necessary that prototype for an amulet or the medallion should be the coin of the period when it was being prepared or of the ruler who was ruling them or in whose domain it was prepared. It need hardly be said that the Romans never came to India as rulers ; yet Roman coins found favour with the people in this country and they imitated Roman coins in metal and clay and made ornaments with loop...".[20]

We have also numerous instances of clay and metallic imitations of Roman coins, Venecian *ducats* or *Sequins*, even Mughal and coins of British rulers in India, in the form of pendants or talismans for using them as ornaments.[21] The practice of wearing necklace of different types of gold and silver coins is still prevalent among the rich and middle class woman in Orissa.[22] We have also report of making ancient coins of gold into various ornaments during 19th century by the European ladies residing in India. According to Beglar's report, "Some years ago a great find of gold coins containing, among other several of the Roman emperors, Constantine, Gordian etc. in most beautiful preservation, was found near Bamanghaty. Mrs. Hayes, the Deputy Commissioner's wife at Singhbhum, possesses, several very fine ones indeed, made into bracelets, but in such manner as to leave the coins absolutely uninjured. I tried in vain to procure some, but failed. Except the choice ones (choice as to the excellence of preservation) picked out and secured by the Deputy Commissioner, the rest got dispersed and it is now hopeless to try and find out where they are if they indeed exist at all and have not been melted".[23]

Imitation gold pieces having Kushāṇa and Roman coin motifs have also been found in the European countries.[24] A somewhat similar medallion like that of the Sisupalgarh find is in the British Museum collection which is supposed to have been prepared in an European country during about 5th century A.D.[25] It is also possible to think that the medallion of Sisupalgarh might not have been made from the original pieces which came to Orissa from the dominions of the Imperial

20. *JNSI*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 39.
21. *Ibid.*
22. Cf. *New Aspects of History of Orissa* (Sambalpur University Souvenir), Vol. III, pp. 32-39. The practice of stringing coins into necklace is very old and popular as it is found in vedic literature and epics where *Nishka* in the sense of a necklace is used. This term later on came to denote a gold coin.
23. Cunningham, *Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, for 1874-75 and 1875-76, Vol. XIII, pp. 72-73.
24. *JNSI*, Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 73-81.
25. *Ibid*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 30.

Kushāṇas or the later Kushāṇas through commercial intercourse of travel. It was possibly made from a coin already imitated from a Kushāṇa coin motif. Similar medallions with Kushāṇa motifs are known to have discovered in archaeological excavations in other parts of India.[26]

Thus the finds of Kushāṇa gold coins in their ornament forms and the practice of imitating by casting, invariably found associated with ornaments indicate that these gold coins were not circulated as currency in Orissa, neither they were issued by any Kushāṇa ruler in this region. It is a well-known fact that the gold coins became popular during the period of Imperial Kushāṇa rulers from first century of the Christian era. The popularity of the coin-motifs with their high metallic value might have attracted the common people. Gold coins, generally used in bigger commercial transactions and foreign trade were not easily available to the common people. It was the scarcity of the metal which attracted the people and also the original coins in gold which led them to imitate. Moreover, the high purchasing power of these metallic pieces was also considered to be the excellent store of wealth, could be used as a fine media of exchange and above all as great demand for jewellery. The purity of the metal was counted much by the common people. Thus we see, the gold coins and their imitations in gold were regarded more as valuable commodity rather than as coined money. They were also not being accepted as legal tender.

It is also to be noted here that the cast impressions of the gold coins of the Kushāṇas which have been found in Orissa do not conform to the weight standard of the original pieces. This also indicates that they were not the currency issued by the Kushāṇa rulers in Orissa. The period when these pieces and the medallions came to Orissa or manufactured here cannot be determined satisfactorily. The Sisupalgarh find was discovered at a level contributed to C. 4th century A.D. P. L. Gupta has rightly observed, that the gold coins of the Kushāṇas in the form of amulets and medallions "might or might not have been prepared in the period when the Kushāṇas were ruling in North India.[27] Thus it is reasonable to think that the few gold coins infiltrated into Orissa either during the Imperial Kushāṇa rule in the North or after their downfall, through trade or carried by pilgrims which were later on imitated and cast impressions of them were prepared for ornament purpose. These are not positive evidences which can be cited for the possibility of Kushāṇa rule in Orissa. There is also no other evidence to corroborate such an assumption.

Copper coins of the Kushāṇas and their imitations

The copper Kushāṇa coins and their imitations have been found in abundance in several parts of Orissa and its contiguous regions. Their discoveries show that

26. *JNSI*, Vol. XX, Part I, pp. 1-3.
27. *JNSI*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 40.

the Kushāṇa copper coins were actually treated as currency of this region. The imitation Kushāṇa coins are popularly known as "Puri-Kushāṇa" coins among the scholars. They were termed "Puri-Kushāṇa" because a hoard of these coins were first identified by Hoernle as Kushāṇa type, discovered near the Gurubai Salt Factory at Manikapâtna in Puri District in 1893.[28] Several scholars have suggested various designations for these so-called "Puri-Kushāṇa" coins. R. P. Chanda suggested that they should be named as "Oriya-Kushāṇa" coins as they have been exclusively found in Orissa.[29] This has been supported by R. C. Majumdar[30], P. Acharya suggested that they should be known as "early Orissan Coins", as they are found practically in all parts of Orissa.[31] Although, the designation "Orissa Kûshāṇa Coins" seems to be more comprehensive, indicating the locality where they have been abundantly found, it is better, at the present, to name them as "imitation Kushāṇa type", as it will be seen presently, that they were manufactured in imitation of the Imperial Kushāṇa coinage of northern India, and they have also been found at some places of the contiguous provinces of Orissa.

Finds

A distributional list of the known discoveries of these coins in Orissa would show that it was actually regarded as coined money during the period when the Kushāṇa originals became scarce after the decline of the Imperial Kushāṇa rule in Northern India. A list of some of the known discoveries is given below :

1. Ganjam District

(i) In 1858 in the neighbourhood of the village Pāṇḍiyā near Jaugaḍa a hoard of the so-called Puri-Kushāṇa coins or the imitation Kushāṇa type was first brought to the notice of the world of scholars by Walter Elliot.[32] Beglar mentioned some coins probably of this type found at Gulka and Jaugaḍa and described them "probably Indo-Scythic".[33]

(2) In 1952, a Puri-Kushāṇa coin was recovered from the village Baḍapur, 8 miles to the east of Berhampur in the above district. It is reported that an earthen pot full of the above type coins was unearthed from an elevated ground near a tank called Iṭāgaḍiā at the above village, by the cultivators while ploughing and they

28. *PASB*, 1895, pp. 61ff.
29. *ASI*, *AR*, 1924-25, p. 132.
30. *JAIH*, Vol. I, Parts 1-2, p. 43.
31. *JNSI*, Vol. II, p. 126.
32. *The Madras Journal of Literature & Science*; (*New series*), No. 7, (1858), pp. 75-78.
33. Cunningham, *ASI*, (1924-25). Vol. XIII, p. 116.

distributed the finds among themselves. Only one coin was collected which is preserved in the Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar.[34]

II. Puri District

(1) In 1893, a hoard of 548 coins of the similar type was discovered at Gurubai Salt Factory near Manikapatna out of which 84 coins belonged to the Kushāṇa rulers.[35]

(2) During the archaeological excavation at Sisupalgarh in 1948, six Kushāṇa and imitation Puri-Kushāṇa type coins were found at the level attributed to 3rd and 4th centuries A.D.[36] Of these, one belonged to Kanishka and one to Huvishka and four were of so-called Puri-Kushāṇa type.

(3) Some Puri-Kushāṇa coins were found in the ex-State of Nayagarh in Puri district during the last century.[37]

(4) A few Puri-Kushāṇa coins have been recovered as surface finds from the village Kuruma, an excavated Buddhist site near Konarak in 1976. They are now in the possession of a local school teacher, Sri Braja Sundar Das.[38]

III. Cuttack District

(1) In 1931-32, 26 Puri-Kushāṇa coins were discovered somewhere in Cuttack district.[39]

(2) In 1953, 13 Kushāṇa copper coins, reported to have belonged to Kanishka and Huvishka, were recovered from a hoard of about 100 coins near the foot of the Kayema hill in the Jajpur Subdivision of Cuttack district.[40]

(3) During 1977-78, a number of Puri-Kushāṇa coins were discovered at Lalitagiri, A Buddhist site in Cuttack district.[41]

IV. Balasore District

(1) In 1912, 910 Puri-Kushāṇa coins were discovered somewhere in Balasore

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34. The information has been obtained from the letter of the District Public Relation Officer, Ganjam, addressed to the Secretary to Government, Public Relation Dept., Orissa, No. 417/XIII-1/52 dated 28.6.1952 ; preserved in the Museum record.
35. *PASB*, 1895, pp. 61-65.
36. *Ancient India*, No. 5, p. 97.
37. *PASB*, 1895, pp. 61-65.
38. My thanks are due to Mr. B. K. Rath, Curator, State Archaeology, Bhubaneswar for the information and showing some of these coins.
39. Treasure Trove Report, *INC*, Vol. VI, No. 4.
40. *OHRJ*, Vol. II, pp. 84-93.
41. I am obliged to Dr. K. S. Behera, Professor, Utkal University, and Mr. P. K. Roy, Superintendent of State Archaeology, Bhubaneswar for the information and kind permission to study the coins.

district and sent to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by the Collector, Balasore. They are now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.[42] One of these coins is inscribed as *Ṭaṅka* in the scripts belonging to the C. 4th-5th century A.D.

(2) Five Puri-Kushāṇa coins found somewhere near Bhadrak Subdivision of Balasore District and were collected through the Secretary, Regional Survey Committee, Balasore, as known from the old Museum records. They are now preserved in the Orissa State Museum.

(3) Three big earthen pots full of Puri-Kushāṇa coins were unearthed and recovered by the Police at the village Banitia near Bhadrak in the Balasore district.[43]

V. Mayurbhanj District

(1) A hoard (exact number of coins is not known) of Puri-Kushāṇa along with a few copper coins of Kanishka and Huvishka, was discovered in 1923 at Bhanjakia in the Panchpir Subdivision near Khiching.[44]

(2) In 1924-25, at the time of archeological excavation at Viratgarh near Khiching, a large number of Puri-Kushāṇa, associated with genuine Kushāṇa coins were found.[45]

(3) In May, 1939, a hoard of 105 Puri-Kushāṇa coins, was discovered in a brass container while digging earth at the village Manada near Nuagaon by the side of the Jashipur-Raruan road.[46]

(4) A hoard of 282 copper coins containing 112 genuine Kushāṇa and 170 Puri-Kushāṇa coins were discovered somewhere in the district of Mayurbhanj as mentioned by R. D. Banerji.[47]

(5) In 1927, some Kushāṇa and Puri-Kushāṇa coins were found at Tentla situated on the bank of the river Kharkai, out of which 22 coins were presented by the Mahārājā of Mayurbhanj to the Asiatic Society.[48]

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42. *ASI, AR*, 1924-35, p. 130. According to old records in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar, 1200 coins were found in this hoard.
43. Information obtained from the Superintendent of Archaeology, Bhubaneswar, Two specimens of the usual type of the Puri-Kushāṇa coins from the hoards were brought to the Museum and the rest are reported to have been still in the law court since police cases against the villagers concerning these coins have not been finalised.
44. *ASI, AR*, 1924-25, pp. 131-32; Orissa District Gazetteer, *Mayurbhanj*, 1967, pp. 57-58.
45. *Ibid.*
46. *Report on Administration of Mayurbhanj* for 1939-40, p. 131; *JNSI*, Vol. IX, p. 107.
47. *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, pp. 111-115.
48. *INC*, Vol. VI, p. 79, Treasure Trove No. 13; *BMCI*, p. CXXI; *Report on the Administration of Mayurbhanj*, 1945-46, p. 172.

(6) In 1945, 6 Puri-Kushāṇa coins were discovered from the above site by the then Headmaster of the Bahalda M.E. School.[49]

(7) In 1948, 1267 Puri-Kushāṇa coins along with a single copper coin of Kanishka were found at Bhanjakia.[50]

(8) In 1956, 12 Puri-Kushāṇa coins were recovered from a village called Dera under the Kuliana Sadar Subdivision through the Private Secretary of the Mayurbhaṇj Rājā Sāheb. These coins were unearthed from a brick mound at the same vIllage[51], now preserved in the Museum.

VI. Keonjhar District

(1) In 1934, Sri Lakshminarayan Bhanjadeo, the Rājāsāheb of Keonjhar collected 135 Kushāṇa and Puri-Kushāṇa coins from a hoard unearthed at Sītābhiñji near the rock-painting and the boulder inscriptions of 4th and 6th centuries A.D. respectively.[52] From the same site, P. Acharya; Archaeologist. Ex-Mayurbhanj State[53] and T. N. Ramachandran[54] found a number of Puri-Kushāṇa and Kushāṇa coins.

VII. Kalahandi District

One copper coin of Kanishka is reported to have been discovered at Asurgarh at the time of excavations undertaken by the Department of History, Sambalpur University in 1973. It was discovered at the level attributed to the 1st-2nd century A.D.[55]

Besides the above finds in the different districts in Orissa proper, we have also report of discoveries of Kushāṇa and Puri-Kushāṇa coins in the neighbouring provinces of Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal and Bihar. They are mentioned below:

(1) A hoard of about 100 Puri-Kushāṇa coins was discovered at Bhiliṅgi in Srikakulam district of Andhra Pradesh in 1960.[56]

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49. *Report on the Administration of Mayurbhanj*, 1945-46, p. 172.
50. *OHRJ*, Vol. II, p. 85; according to the Museum records, 1267 pieces were received from Sri S. Mahanta of Karanjia Subdivision in Mayurbhanj district in 1953; District Gazetteer, *Mayurbhanj*, 1967, pp. 57-58.
51. Information collected from the old official records in the Orissa State Museum.
52. *OHRJ*, Vol. II, pp. 84-93.
53. *Ibid*, p. 85.
54. *JNSI*, Vol. XIII, p. 69; Local people frequently find these coins near the ruins of Sītābhiñji, especially after rainfall.
55. *New Aspects of the History of Orissa*, Vol. II, 1978, pp. 66ff.
56. *JNSI*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 25ff; Bhiliṅgi has been identified with Bhiliṅga-bhoga-*vishaya* mentioned in one of the copper plate charters of Umavarman of the Māṭhara dynasty of Kaliṅga of 5th or 6th century A.D.—Cf. *OHRJ*, Vol. VI, p. 108; *JNSI*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 25ff.

(2) In 1952, a big hoard of Puri-Kushāṇa coins was discovered by the side of a river at the village Pindrabera (Saraikela-Kharswan) in the district of Singhbhum (Bihar), out of which only 20 legible coins were acquired by the Patna Museum.[57]

(3) In 1928, 12 Puri-Kushāṇa coins were found at Kusumbagan near Rakha Hill mines in Singhbhum district which are now in the Patna Museum.[58]

(4) In 1931, 26 Puri-Kushāṇa coins were found at Mahulia in Singhbhum district.[59]

(5) A hoard of 281 Puri-Kushāṇa coins were found at Masubazar situated at a distance of 32 miles south of Purulia. in West Bengal which are now preserved in Indian Museum, Calcutta.[60]

(6) Another hoard of 93 coins were found from Barahbhum now in the Singhbhum district of Bihar.[61]

(7) In 1917, a hoard of 363 Puri-Kushāṇa coins were found on the northern slope of the Rakha hills in Singhbhum district. Some of these coins are inscribed with the legend *Ṭaṅka* in the scripts of 4th-5th century A.D.[62]

Apart from the finds of these Puri-Kushāṇa coins, a good number of the so-called genuine Kushāṇa copper coins have also been discovered in different parts of Chhotanagpur region (in Bihar) or the ancient Jharkhand which also formed a part of Utkal is ancient times. At Karra in Ranchi district one copper coin of Kanishka was found. At Kositanr, in Hazaribagh district, 130 specimens out of which 110 pieces belonging to Kanishka and others, being very much worn out pieces said to be of the Kushāṇas, were found in 1945.[63] In West Bengal a genuine Kushāṇa coin was recovered from Tamluk in Midnapore district[64] and some imitation Kushāṇa types were recovered apparently from the Southern districts of the State, now preserved in the Directorate of Archaeology, Government of West Bengal. Some struck copper pieces, numbering 24, alleged to be imitations of Kanishka-Huvishka coinage are reported to have been collected from Bengal.[65] They are now preserved in the British Museum. Some of these coins have close similarity with the cast Puri-Kushāṇa coins. It may be pointed out here that the different

57. Treasure Trove Report, List No. 12 ; *JNSI*, Vol. XXXVI, pp, 35-36.
58. *Treasure Trove Report*, *INC*, List No. 225 ; *JNSI*, Vol. XXXVI, p, 35.
59. *Ibid*, List No. 229 ; *Ibid*, p. 35.
60. *JNSI*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 36.
61. *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 124.
62. *JBORS*, Vol. V, pp. 73ff.
63. *JBORS*, List No. 81 ; *JNSI*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 35.
64. *JPASB*, 1882, p. 113.
65. *JNSI*, Vol. XXXIII, Part I, pp. 37-43 and Plate III.

adjoining regions of Orissa i.e., southern districts of West Bengal, north-eastern parts of Andhra Pradesh, Chhotanagpur region of Bihar where considerable number of Kushāṇa and Puri-Kushāṇa coins have been found, formed parts of ancient Orissa even to the recent times. It is also to be noted that we have not yet come across any coin of Puri-Kushāṇa type in South-Kosala region i.e., Chattisgarh in Madhya Pradesh and Sambalpur, Bolangir and Kalahandi districts in Orissa, although a number of genuine copper coins of Kanishka, Huvishka and Vasudeva are known to have been discovered from this area. The only big hoard of these coins (757 coins) containing 44 pieces of Wima Kadphises, 324 of Kanishka and 362 of Huvishka was found in Shahdol district.[66] The rest of the coins were found in different areas of Bilaspur district. Some Yaudheya coins were also found along with those of the Kushāṇas at Pendarwa (Chandrapur) in Bilaspur district.[67]

It is interesting to note that the Yaudheya coins are found frequently associated with the Kushāṇa and Puri-Kushāṇa coins beyond the areas of their circulation. A number of Puri-Kushāṇa coins restruck by the coin devices of the Yaudheyas and also some genuine Kushāṇa copper coins restruck by the Yaudheyas have been found in Eastern Punjab and Haryana.[68] A big hoard of Puri-Kushāṇa coin types was found by Silak Ram of Kurukshetra University from Sonepat in Haryana, reported to have been found from Thaneswar mound.[69] There are also instances of Kushāṇa coins counterstruck by the Indo-Sassanians with their coin devices.[70]

The so-called genuine Kushāṇa coins, often found in association with their imitation types are die-struck pieces. They are heavier in weight than those of their imitation types. The Kayema hoard from Cuttack District contained 13 genuine Kushāṇa coins. As all the coins of the hoard could not be recovered, it is not safe to conclude that it contained exclusively original pieces. It is to be noted that the original coins so far came to the notice of the historians are worn out pieces, appear to be in long circulation. Some of the coins preserved in the Orissa State Museum (Plate XLIV, Figs. 1 and 2) discovered from Kayema and other parts of Orissa[71] show that they were in long circulation and frequent handling as the surface of them are almost blurred and smooth and the coin-motifs are not practically legible. Their sizes vary from 2.1 cm. to 2.4 cm. and weights from 13.700 gms. to 12.490 gms. The obverse of some of these coins bear the well known variety of standing figure of the king as found on many coins of Kanishka and reverse contain the standing deity type

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66. *JNSI*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 118-119 ; Vol. XXVIII, pp. 1-3 ; Vol. XXXVI, p. 38.
67. *Ibid*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 38.
68. *JNSI*, Vol. XL, pp. 92-95 and Plate.
69. *All-India Oriental Conference*, 27th Session, 1974, pp. 217-18 ; *JNSI*, Vol. XL, pp. 92-95.
70. *IHQ*, Vol. XIII, pp. 105ff.
71. *JNSI*, Vol. XIII, pp. 69ff.

of the same ruler. A few coins bear on the obverse the elephant-rider type of Huvishka with reverse being very much worn out.

Description of the Puri-Kushāṇa coins

The imitation pieces are crudely cast with the help of clay moulds having four sides opening channels connected with four moulds of coins. They were being cast in batches as on most of the coins one can still see where the coin was broken from the mould and the adjoining pieces. Some twin coins, which turn into two individual coins when broken are still to be seen in some of the hoards discovered in Orissa. Traces of molten metal are still seen around the coin-flans, even on the symbols in the centre. The coins on the whole have an unfinished appearance. Due to the untrimmed appearance and crude manufacturing technique, they have no definite weight standard and the sizes also vary widely from each other.[9] They are invariably found having no definite shape due to their protruding edges. They vary in measurement from 1.8 to 2.5 cm. Due to the defective mode of casting their thickness are also not even and vary from 0.2 cm. to 0.5 cm. Sometimes they are very thin with untrimmed edges. Their weights vary from 4.775 gms. to 7.665 gms. even some coins are so thick that they weigh 11.520 gms, although there is variation in their respective size.

The obverse of these so-called Puri-Kushāṇa or imitation Kushāṇa coins shows the well known figure of a Kushāṇa type king standing and pointing with his right hand downwards or curved upwards and left arm extended. The reverse shows the Kushāṇa figure, probably intended for the figure of *MAO* or Moon-god with right arm curved upwards and the crescent above the left shoulder. Sometimes the figures are shown with slight variations i.e., the arms upwards or downwards or outstretched, sometimes, the left hand is not visible, instead, the crescent is shown, but the figure of the Kushāṇa king on the obverse and the standing deity on the reverse remain constant. These coins belong to uninscribed variety. But there is an inscribed variety of them which are also found in association with the hoards of uninscribed pieces. They contain on the obverse the well-known figure of the standing Kushāṇa king, both arms outstretched upwards. The reverse contains some new devices unknown from any other sources. They are, on the upper portion of the reverse, three hills or cone like objects placed in a straight line and below them some letters, inscribed in the characters of 4th or 5th century A.D. reading *Ṭaṅka*. These coins are slightly well trimmed than those of the uninscribed coins and look more fresh. Sometimes, it is noticed on some coins of this variety, the word *Ṭaṅka* has been cast in a reverse manner i.e., the letter *ṅka* first and *ṭa* being the next letter and the letters have been cast in the upside-down position (Plate XLVI, Fig. 2, No. 13). This is possibly due to the carelessness of the minters and also the defective mode of casting, that the letters are being written in their reverse form. These coins also do not conform to any definite size and weight. They vary in size from 2.1 cm. to

2.3 cm. and 4.180 gms to 5.622 gms in weight. Sometimes a small dot to the right top of the figure on the obverse is found on some coins. The thickness of them also vary between individual coins. Some coins are 0.3 cm. in thickness while others are very thin. This is also due to the defective casting process as stated earlier. Due to these wide variations in their size, weight and thickness, it is difficult to determine the different denominations of these coins if there was any.

There is some sort of similarity in the later coins of the Yaudheyas and the coins of above description, so far as the technique of casting copper coins with moulds is concerned. The Yaudheyas seem to have adopted the same technique as those of the Orissan people in preparing their later coinage by casting method. It is interesting to note that several Kushāṇa and Yaudheya coin-moulds in baked clay have been discovered from Naurangabad near Rohtak in Haryana,[72] included in the dominions of the Yaudheyas and Rohtak, Atranjikhera in Etah district of Uttar Pradesh.[73] A fragmentary clay mould apparently intended for casting Kushāṇa coins was discovered from Atranjikhera in Uttar Pradesh. The Naurangabad mould shows that it was intended for casting a number of coins at a time like the method adopted to cast Puri-Kushāṇa coins in Orissa. B. Sahni, while described the mould, says, "The interest of this multiple coin-mould lies in its rectangular form and in the arrangements of the feed channels. In the middle of one of the four sides there is a large expanded opening from which several canals branch out to supply the coin-sockets. These canals, however, only feed the nearest sockets, which also communicate with one another through short connecting channels. The sockets further removed from the main opening are supplied indirectly, through the nearer opening.[74] The appearence of the so-called Puri-Kushāṇa types also shows that they were manufactured with the same technique. Unfortunately, we have not come acorss, in Orissa, any coin-mould for casting Puri-Kushāṇa coins. But it may be reasonably suggested that the above technique was imported in the same way, as the Kushāṇa coins infiltrated into Orissa, when the Kushāṇa originals became short in supply. This is supported by the evidence supplied by the restruck Kushāṇa and Puri-Kushāṇa coins found in the territories occupied by the Yaudheyas as stated earlier. It seems probable that there was brisk trade and commercial relationship between the Yaudheyas and the people of Orissa during a period when the Imperial Kushāṇas ceased to rule in north-western India. It may be pointed out here that the Yaudheyas had a very extensive copper coinage of both die-struck and cast pieces, which have been found in the eastern Punjab and all over the country between the Sutlej and the Jumna rivers. Their coins have been found at Sonpat between Delhi and Karnal and in the Dehra Dun

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72. *JNSI*, Vol. XXXII, Part II, pp. 158ff. and Plates 6-7.
73. B. Sahni, *The Technique of Casting Coins in Ancient India*, pp. 43ff. and Plate.
74. *Ibid*, p. 43.

District.[75] On the epigraphical as well as numismatic evidences, scholars have tried to define the territory occupied by the Yaudheyas. But their territory had considerably changed from time to time. During 3rd-4th centuries A.D. after the gradual decline of the Kushāṇas from Uttar Pradesh and Eastern Punjab, the Yaudheyas had reestablished there. One interesting thing is to be noted that the Yaudheyas who also came into conflict with the Śaka Satrap during the reign of Rudradāman, came to be influenced by their coinage and the word *Dramma* which was the standard silver currency of the Western Satraps derived from the Greek *Drachm*, appears on their copper coinage denoting the broader sense of a coin. This seems to have influenced the Orissan people who in a type of Puri-Kushāṇa coins, taken to be of a considerably later period than those of their uninscribed coinage have used the word *Ṭaṅka* denoting coin of metallic money in a broader sense.

The Kushāṇa coin-moulds found along with those of the Yaudheyas look very much blurred in comparison to the fresh looking Yaudheya moulds which indicate that they were prepared out of the worn out Kushāṇa coins. The same type of moulds have also been found from Atranjikhera. The Naurangabad mould shows that it was intended for casting different types of Kushāṇa coins. "The coins represented in this mould are apparently the issue of Huvishka the Kushāṇa king who has the unique elephant rider type on the obverse. Some of the figures also show a standing deity, which again, is different in different impressions one of which can be recognized as the Moon-God.[76] The Atranjikhera mould also contains the well known varieties of Kanishka-Huvishka coinage. The views of some of the scholars that these coin-moulds were "forger's apparatus", need to be re-examined. It may be pointed out here that the so-called genuine Kushāṇa coins invariably found in Orissa in association with the Puri-Kushāṇa coins belong to these well-known varieties of Kanishka-Huvishka coinage in their too much worn out conditions.[77]

It is interesting to note here that a hoard of 24 struck copper coins of the

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75. *JNSI*, Vol. XXIV, p. 138; *JBORS*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 148-149; *JNSI*, Vol. II, pp. 109ff.
76. B. Sahni, *op.cit*, p. 43 and Ptate.
77. Plate No. XLIV, Figs. 1 and 2; T. N. Ramachandran found two Elephant-rider type coins of Huvishka at Sitabhinji in Keonjhar district and well known standing king type of Kanishka. According to him, they are "round, cast, untrimmed and simple". The two Elephant-rider types of Huvishka, as he says, "are unique finds, as Puri-Kushāṇa coins imitating the king on elephant motif have not been known so far". *JNSI*, Vol. XIII, pp. 69ff. and Plate V. 1-5.

Kushāṇas out of which six are now in the British Museum, London, was collected some-where from Bengal[78], have very close similarity with the Puri-Kushāṇa, and the alleged genuine Kushāṇa coin-motifs found in Orissa. There are some coins of the elephant-rider type of Huvishka as well as standing king type of Kanishka's coinage. The later type depicts the king standing, wearing knee-length garment, the right upper arm is horizontal with the forearm raised, the left arm is lowered to an altar; no trident or legend. The reverse shows a standing deity with left arm horizontal and right hand on the hip. According to M. B. Mitchiner, the coins show the "deterioration in style and with progressive changes in the coin type".[79] He surmises that they are "struck imitations" of Kanishka-Huvishka coinage which have "more links with the cast Puri-Kushāṇa coinage than with other series of struck Kushāṇa imitations and in many respects form an intermediate series between the official Kushāṇa coinage and the Puri-Orissa coinage". In fact, the genuine Kushāṇa coins so far known to have been found in Orissa corroborate to the above views. The weights of these coins also conform to the weights mentioned by the author. These coins also indicate that struck imitation type of Kushāṇa currency was in circulation in Orissa along with the Puri-Kushāṇa type. The elephant-rider type of Huvishka's coins, which T. N. Ramachandran noticed in the Sītābhiñji finds, have very close similarity with the coins mentioned by the above author. He rightly observed that Puri-Kushāṇa coins were copied by casting from these coin types.

Chronology

The die-struck Kushāṇa types and their cast imitation described above unearthed from time to time in Orissa, have drawn the attention of many scholars and on their evidence they have tried to establish Kushāṇa domination not only in Orissa but in the whole of Eastern India where copper pieces of the Kushāṇas have also been found in considerable number. There is no doubt that these Kushāṇa types or the die-struck imitation pieces were current in Orissa before the introduction of their cast imitations. It is also known that these imitations are the earliest copper coinage of Orissa, fabricated by local manufacturers in imitation to the Kushāṇa originals. But the date of their circulation, when exactly these coins came to be introduced and accepted as currency in this part of the country is vitiated for sufficient archaeological data and information from ancient literary sources. Although the evidence is very scanty, we get some hints to the date of their circulation as currency in Orissa.

Scholars have attributed various dates to their issue and circulation in this part of the country. Vincent Smith is of opinion that these coins might have been

78. *JNSI*, Vol. XXXIII, Part I, pp. 37ff. and Plate III.

79. *Ibid.*

issued by the rulers of Kaliṅga in the 4th or 5th century A.D.[80] Allan has attributed these coins to the 3rd or 4th century A.D.[81] T. N. Ramachandran, on the ground of palaeography of an inscription on the tempera painting and other antiquities of archeological importance, assigned the Puri-Kushāṇa and Kushāṇa coins found at Sītābhiñji in Keonjhar district to the 4th century A.D.[82] According to P. Acharya, they formed the coinage of the kings of Orissa during the Gupta period but were quite independent of the Gupta emperors.[83] N. K. Sahu is of opinion that these coins were issued by Muruṇḍa Kings in Orissa during 3rd and 4th centuries A.D.[84] D. K. Ganguli advocates, "imitation Kushāṇa coins were in circulation in Orissa simultaneously with the coins of the Kushāṇa emperors Kanishka and Huvishka", as they are invariably found in association with the Imperial Kushāṇa coins.[85] R. D. Banerji on the ground of palaeographhpy of the inscribed Puri-Kushāṇa coins holds that they were in circulation in Orissa during 6th-7th centuries A.D.[86] S. C. Behera, while, speculating the Kushāṇa supremacy in Orissa on the basis of an inscription belonging to a Nāga King, opines that the Puri-Kushāṇa coins were introduced in Orissa towards the 3rd or 4th century A.D.[87] He is also of opinion that the finds of Puri-Kushāṇa coins in association with the Kushāṇa originals are indicative of the prevalence of the Kushāṇa coins from the time of Kanishka and Huvishka whose coins are invariably found with Puri-Kushāṇa coins. He is of opinion that after the decline of Kushāṇa rule in Orissa, provincial governors appointed by the Kushāṇa emperors asserted their independence and continued to issue imitation Kushāṇa coins for currency purpose.

It is known that prior to the introduction of Kushāṇa originals in Orissa, we do not have any copper coinage discovered so far. There is also no reference to any copper coinage in epigraphical or literary records of Orissa. The Sisupalgarh excavation yielded very few lead coins of the later Śātavāhanas and some

80. Smith, *CCIM*, Calcutta, Vol. I, pp, 64-65.
81. Allan, *BMCI*, pp. 205-09.
82. *JNSI*, Vol. XIII, pp. 69ff.
83. *JNSI*, Vol. II, pp. 125-26.
84. *UUHO*, Vol. I, pp. 418-30ff.
85. *JNSI*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 6-11.
86. *History of Orissa*, I, pp. 115ff.
87. *JNSI*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 25-34. He has even suggested on a wrong interpretation of the reading of the inscription, that the Nāga king Śatrubhañja defeated the *Devaputras*, denoting the Kushāṇas, in hundreds of battles. In fact, the term *Devaputra* mentioned in the inscription was merely an epithet used for Śatrubhañja, who had also other similar epithets as revealed by this epigraph, Cf. *OHRJ*, Vol. XIII. No. 2, pp. 1-8ff; also *JOH*, Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 5-10.

copper punch-marked Eran type coinage which do not prove to be exclusively circulated as currency and met the needs of the people. The only abundant finds, before the introduction of Kushāṇa coppers, are the silver punch-marked coins which were in use as currency for higher transactions. People were in need of currency of cheaper metal like copper to meet the requirements of the common mass and for smaller transactions who were used to money economy since the days of punch-marked coins. Although the cowries were used in smaller transactions, apart from metallic money, they were probably not sufficient to meet the demands of the people. Moreover, copper was available in large quantities in Singbhum areas (Ṛākhā hill mines) which was sufficient to meet the demand for minting this currency. It is not unlikely that Kushāṇa struck coppers became popular with the people for smaller business and when they became scarce and their supply was stopped through trade due to the downfall of the Imperial Kushāṇas in the North-West, the commercial communities who introduced these coins in Orissa, utilised the copper mines available in this region, in minting their imitations for small scale trade.

The Sisupalgarh excavations show that Kanishka and Huvishka's coins were in circulation during 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D Evidently, the Kushāṇa originals were brought through trade to different areas outside the Kushāṇa empire during the Imperial Kushāṇa rule when brisk trade and commercial activities were going on between the Kushāṇa empire and other kingdom inside and outside India. There are reports that the archaeologists have found Kushāṇa gold as well as copper coins near Kiev (European Russia), Scandinavia and in the towns of the Roman empire. They have also been found in the Kama area (West of the Ural).[88] A hoard of 103 Kushāṇa gold coins containing issues of Wima Kadphises, Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva were found in Ethiopia (Abyssinia).[89] The trade relation between India and Ethiopia is also corroborated by the accounts mentioned in the *periplus.*[90] The Kushāṇa coins were counterstruck by the rulers of the Afrigian dynasty of Khwarizm in Central Asia who established their power there after the decline of the Kushāṇas in or about 4th century A.D. as evidenced from their finds in Central Asia.[91] A few of these counter-struck coins have also been found in India which indicate that during 4th-5th centuries A.D. the Kushāṇa coins were current in the trade and commercial transactions[92] although the Kushāṇas were ousted from North-Western India by this time. It is reasonable to think that pro-

88. P. L. Gupta, "India's Foreign Trade and the Coins", in A. M. Sastri (Ed). *Coins & Early Indian Economy*, p. 148.
89. *JNSI*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 19-25.
90. *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, p. 24 and Note 4.
91. *JNSI*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 51-52.
92. *Ibid*, p. 51.

bably the Kushāṇa originals in copper came to Orissa during the rule of Kanishka when the Kushāṇa empire reached its zenith and continued in circulation even after the downfall of the Imperial Kushāṇas of north-west India. Probably by the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D., the various types of Kushāṇa imitations and counter-struck originals came into circulation in trade along with the original pieces. The reason for striking imitations was obviously the paucity of original coins after the dawnfall of the Kushāṇas. The Vaiśālī excavations also suggest that the Kushāṇa originals along with the counter-struck pieces were in circulation during the 4th century A.D, in Bihar.

The probable trade routes through which the copper coins of the Kushāṇas and their imitations entered into Orissa were mainly two. One was through Vārāṇasī which was a great centre for trade during the Kushāṇa rule. From Vārāṇasī the traders used to come through the Jharkhand region (Chhotanagpur region of Bihar) to Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar districts of Orissa. From these regions they moved to sea-coast of Bengal and also along the Orissan sea-coast southwards passing through Ganjam district. There was another probable route through which Samudragupta came on the occasion of his Deccan campaign. He came from Magadha through Dakshiṇa-Kosala (Chattisgarh in Madhya Pradesh and Sambalpur region in Orissa) end Bastar region of Madhya Pradesh. The distribution of Kushāṇa copper coins[93] in this region suggest a probable route from Patna in Bihar to Bilaspur and Raipur and from Raipur into Sambalpur-Sonepur and Kalahandi regions of Orissa. In this region very few Puri-Kushāṇa coins have so far been discovered. It is reasonable to hold that by the time of introduction of these imitation coins, trade and commercial activities through this route was stopped. Probably, during this period, the trade routes were linked up with Vārāṇasī which had again, link with the trade centres of Kushāṇa empire in Central and Eastern Uttar Pradesh through Sahabad and Palamau districts in Bihar. This route probably led to the Chhotanagpur region of the present Bihar, wherefrom the traders used to come to Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar districts of Orissa, which formed some of the minting centres, as revealed by the abundant finds of the Puri-Kushāṇa or the imitation Kushāṇa coins in these regions. Brisk commercial activities also seem to have continued through this route for a long period. The distribution of Kushāṇa and Puri-Kushāṇa coins in this region also suggest this assumption. Vaiśālī was a great trade centre during ancient times from where southern and northern trade routes were linked up with Vārāṇasī and Śrāvastī. Ancient Tāmralipti, (modern Tamluk) which was the chief port in eastern India, also linked up with Vaiśālī.[94] The city of Tosali identified

93. *JNSI*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 39.
94. Motichandra, *Sārthavāha* (Hindi), Patna, 1966, p. 18.

with the adjoining areas of Bhubaneswar and Sisupalgarh, was also an important trade centre in eastern India as evidenced from the discovery of various types of coins,[95] as well as large hoards of silver punch-marked coins. There is every reason to suppose that Tosali was connected with the important trade centres of Vārāṇasī, Vaiśālī, Pāṭalīputra and Tāmralipti for trade. It is well known that Pāṭalīputra was politically connected with Tosali since Aśoka's time. During the time of the Kushāṇas also these routes were used by the traders. Pāṭalīputra, being situated on the confluence of the river Ganges and Sone must have facilitated the growth of trade and commerce by both land and river routes. There were also varions road links between Pāṭalīputra and Tamluk[96], which apear to be through Chhotanagpur region in Bihar and Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar and Balasore in Orissa. Thus we see, there was a net work of roads from Eastern Uttar Pradesh which constituted a part of the Kushāṇa empire, connected with the important towns and trading centres of Bihar, Orissa and Bengal. There is every reason to believe that there was brisk trade relationship between the Kushāṇa empire and these provinces, though not territorial expansion by the Kushāṇas.

The Kushāṇa coins and their imitations do not seem to have been in use for a long time as those of the silver punch-marked coins. The epigraphic or literary records of early-medieval period are silent on these coins. A few copper plate grants of 6th-7th centuries A.D. mention a coin-name as *Paṇa*. The Ningondi grant of Prabhañjanavarman of the Māṭhara dynasty[97] assignable to about 6th century A.D., the Hindol plate of Śubhākaradeva of the Bhaumakara dynasty of C. 9th century A.D.[98] probably refer to the use of copper coins during this period. Rather, we come across frequently the reference to silver money known as *rupya*. In the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, the copper coins have been denoted as *paṇa*[99] in the *Smṛiti* literature also *paṇa* has been denoted to copper coin.[100] The copper plate records of the Māṭharas mention that 200 *paṇas* were to be paid by the donee towards the annual rent fixed by the donor. The inscription of Śubhākara mentions daily payment of 4 *paṇas* of metallic money (hiraṇya), fixed for the servitor of the temple. These references to *paṇa* tend to show that they were also used as currency along with the silver currency. It is probable to think that the Puri-Kushāṇa and the struck Kushāṇa coins were still in circulation in some parts of Orissa and

95. *Ancient India*, No. 5, pp. 97ff.
96. Romila Thapar, *A History of India*, Vol. I, 1974, p. 106.
97. *EI*, Vol. XXX; p. 118.
98. B. Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma kings*. pp. 11, 15, 23, 24.
99. U. Thakur, "The First Coins: A study in Evolution and Growth", in D. C. Sircar, (Ed.) *Early Indian Indigenous Coins*, p. 42.
100. Manu, VII, 125-26; *JAIH*, Vol. X, p. 40.

calculated in *paṇa* standard and used in smaller transactions inside the territorial units. The areas where these royal families were ruling also corroborate to the availability of Kushāṇa coins and their imitations in large numbers.

It is suggested by P. L. Gupta that the absence of the coins of Vāsudeva in Orissan finds indicate that the Kushāṇa coins came to Orissa "Only when the rule of Vāsudeva had ceased to exist in Uttar Pradesh and they came there only through trade and travel.[101] If this is true, then it is difficult to explain the exclusive find of Vāsudeva's gold pieces and their imitations, though not copper, in Bengal and others parts of Eastern India. If Kanishka-Huvishka coinage could enter the Orissan territories after their rule had ceased to exist in northern India, then why not also of Vāsudeva's ? The absence of his copper coins may be attributed to the more popularity of Kanishka-Huvishka's coinage for the Orissan traders through whom they entered into Orissan markets and eagerly accepted by the local people. It is to be noted here that the gold coin (Plate XLIII, Fig. 2, No. 1) collected from Cuttack in the form of ornament, belongs to Vāsudeva.

The above discussion would tend to show that the Kushāṇa coins found in Orissa are not much helpful in establishing the Kushāṇa rule in this region. We have very little information of the political condition of Orissa during the period intervening the decline of Khāravela's dynasty and the rise of the Guptas. An inscription of the time of *Mahāmeghavāhana-Kaliṅga-Mahisakādhipati* Śrī-Sada, discovered at Guntupalli in the West Godavari district, in Andhra Pradesh who is alleged to have been ruling in Kaliṅga and Mahisaka sometime during the 1st century B.C. after Khāravela.[102] The Nasik inscription reveals that Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi's empire included a portion of South-Kaliṅga.[103] A fragmentary stone inscription from Bhadrak in Balasore district reveals that during about 3rd or 4th century A.D. Mahārāja Gaṇa was an independent king of an unknown royal family in the northern parts of Orissa which was then comprised within Utkala.[104] Samudragupta's Allahabad inscription also shows that he defeated at least six independent kings whose kingdoms were comprised in Kaliṅga and South Kosala.[105] We come across a good number of epigraphical records of the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. which reveal that other parts of Orissa were also split up into small kingdoms ruled by independent or semi-independent indigenous rulers of different dynasties. The king named Śatrubhañja belonging to the Nāga dynasty was ruling the kingdom

101. *JNSI*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 49.
102. *JESI*, Vol. V, pp. 48-61ff.
103. *UUHO*, Vol. I, pp. 415ff.
104. *EI*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 169-74; *OHRJ*, Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 22-26.
105. *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 6ff.

named Vindhyāṭavī comprising a part of the modern Keonjhar district of Orissa.[106] Recently a copper plate grant of a king named Nandarājadeva who was known to have been ruling a portion of South Kosala comprising parts of Kalahandi district in Orissa and of modern Chhattisgarh division of Madhya Pradesh has been discovered in the district of Kalahandi.[107] The date of this grant on palaeographical ground may not be earlier than the 6th century A.D.

Thus, from the above epigraphical evidences, it may be seen that Orissa was divided into several small principalities. There is no epigraphical record of any Kushāṇa King ruling in Orissa during this period. By the end of the 5th century, the Māṭharas ruled in the south and south-western part of Kaliṅga with their capital at Siṁhapura. From the 6th century onwards the Eastern Gaṅgas ruled in Kaliṅga from their capital at Kaliṅganagara. The Śarabhapurīyas, the Nalas ruled in parts of South Kosala during 6th and 7th centuries A.D. There seems to be no paramount ruler in Orissa during this long period after Khāravela's rule, who can be credited with issuing Kushāṇa and Puri-Kushāṇa coins for circulation in almost the whole of Orissa for currency purpose.

On the basis of some Jaina traditions, some scholars believe that Muruṇḍas, who were Indo-Scythians in origin, were ruling in Eastern India including Orissa as viceroys of the Kushāṇas.[108] The Jaina traditions make us believe that the Muruṇḍas ruled at Pāṭalīputra before the rise of the Guptas.[109] Ptolemy (c. 145 A.D.) mentions a tribe called Maroundai (Muruṇḍa) who were foreigners living in Bihar region and around Pāṭalīputra.[110] It is also believed by some scholars that the Muruṇḍa viceroys who were appointed in eastern India were empowered to issue coins in their territories. But these literary evidences are not enough to establish the theory of Muruṇḍa rule in Orissa. Some scholars believe that when the supply of Kushāṇa originals to this part of their empire became short immediately after the decline of the Imperial Kushāṇas, their provincial governors issued imitations on the basis of the Kushāṇa originals. But it should be borne in

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106. *OHRJ*, Vol. XIII, No. 2, pp. 1-8. The editor of the inscription has assigned it to 3rd or 4th century A.D. on palaeographical grounds. But the influence of the Gupta phrasaeologies used in the inscription as well as the sculpture depicted over it, also other internal evidences indicate that it cannot be assigned to a pertiod earlier than 6th century A.D. ; also see, *JOH*, Vol. I, pp. 5-10.
107. A. Joshi, *New Light on the cultural Heritage of Orissa*, pp. 34-36. The copper plate grant is now preserved in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar.
108. *JNSI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 11 ; Vol. XXXV, pp. 127-141.
109. H. C. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, 1938, p. 450.
110. D. C. Sircar, (Ed.), *Prāchyavidyātaraṅgiṇī* (Golden Jubilee Volume), 1969, p. 175; Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text*, p. 95.

mind that the inscriptional evidences of this period do not show any hints to the rule of Kushāṇa provincial governors. Moreover, if the Puri-Kushāṇa coins were issued by the Kushāṇa viceroys, they would have been the exact prototypes of the Kushāṇas like those of the Śaka-Satraps, Indo-Sassanian feudatories, and not their imitations having just resemblance of some Kushāṇa coin motifs. Rather it can be suggested that these coins were imitated by the trading communities modelled after the Kushāṇa originals with the approval of the different ruling families to be used in trade and commerce in their dominions. It is probably the popularity of the Kushāṇa coins which led them to imitate after the cessation of supply of the Kushāṇa originals in order to continue the numismatic tradition of this region. We have several instances of imitation coins which were in circulation in different parts of the country. Imitations of the Gupta gold coins were prevalent in the regions of South Kosala, Bengal and Bihar, which were not issued by the Gupta provincial governors, but by the independent rulers of different royal families. It should be noted that local conservatism played an important role in the system of currency of a state in ancient India, which forced the authorities, either the royal authorities or traders and moneyers, to mint coins continuing the traditions maintained by their predecessors. According to C. S. Upasak "In the realm of numismatics, conservatism was a very strong force in ancient India. On any new issue of coins, it was to some extent essential to maintain the similarity with the issues of the predecessors, since it was otherwise difficult to get proper circulation and recognition among the people".[111]

Some scholars are also of opinion that copper coins do not travel long in course of trade and commerce as they were meant for local transactions. On the basis of their finds in appreciable number in Bihar, Bengal, Orissa and Andhra Pradesh and in South Kosala region of Madhya Pradesh they speculate the Kushāṇa rule in Orissa. In their opinion gold and silver coins, like those of the Roman coins in South India, may be carried to distant lands without implying any political occupation. But copper coins have also considerable purchasing power and extensive use of them in trade and commerce is corroborated by the finds of counterstruck as well as imitation Kushāṇa type coins in the adjoining provinces of Orissa and in the Punjab region as stated earlier. We have ample evidence to show that copper coins formed the principle currency of many kingdoms during this period.[112] Moreover, it should be noted that Kushāṇa coins in copper have been discovered in Central Asia with counterstruck marks of the Afrigian rulers which also came to Indian trading centre of Vaiśālī. This does not definitely indicate political expansion by the Afrigian rulers in India. Similarly, some Puri-Kushāṇa coins counterstruck by the Yaudheya devices discovered at Sonepat in Haryana also

111. *JNSI*, Vol. XXIII, p. 216.
112. Cf. the copper coinage of the Yaudheyas, the Nāgas etc.

would not indicate any political expansion by any of the Orissan rulers in that part of the country. The lead coins of the later Śātavāhanas discovered in the Sisupalgarh excavation do not furnish the evidence of their rule around Bhubaneswar. There are several instances of the movement of copper coins from one country to another through trade or travel. It would not be out of place to mention the presence of a large number of copper coins of the Vijayanagar kings in Puri town indicating that they came here with the pilgrims as well as through commercial transactions.[113] In this context, we may also point to the discovery of the copper coins of Śrī Nanda, which do not belong to the area where they have been found.[114]

The question may arise as to who issued these imitation coins in Orissa, if the Kushāṇa viceroys had not issued them. It is well known that in ancient India minting of coins was also entrusted with the different trading communities and moneyers, only with the approval of the royal anthorities. It seems probable that traders who came to trade in Orissa brought the struck coins with them and when the supply became short, the Orissan traders who were used to these coins started minting, imitating these original pieces by casting method. If it is believed that the contemporary royal dynasties of Orissa issued these coins for currency purpose, then there might have been some counter struck pieces with their own coin-motifs like those of the Yaudheyas, the Indo-Sassanians or the Afrigian rulers of Khwarizm.

Scholars have also tried to establish the theory of the Kushāṇa occupation of Orissa on the evidence of some stray sculptures showing distinct Kushāṇa influence. It is to be noted that the migration of artists or art-motifs was a common phenomenon in ancient times.[115] Cultural contacts between the countries cannot be taken as political expansion. We have evidences of Śātavāhana, Kushāṇa and Gupta Cultural contacts as known from the sculptures of different periods found at Bhubaneswar and its adjoining areas.[116] Thus in the absence of any direct corroborative evidence, it is unreasonable to think of Kushāṇa paramountcy in Orissa on the basis of a few stray sculptures. Kushāṇa cultural influence seems to have travelled through the trade routes which connected Orissan trade centres like the city of Tosali and the important trade centres of the Kushāṇa empire. Thus the sculptural evidence in support of Kushāṇa rule in Orissa, cannot be accepted as conclusive.

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113. See Chapter XI.
114. See Chapter VI.
115. S. K. Saraswati (Ed.), *Survey of Indian Sculpture*, 1962, pp. 11ff.
116. K. C. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, 1961, pp. 202-17ff.

CHAPTER FOUR

COINS OF THE GUPTAS IN ORISSA

In the field of Indian numismatics, the gold coinage of the Gupta Emperors occupies a place of outstanding importance. Their coinage consisting of abundant gold issues, and comparatively rare silver and copper pieces, exhibits superb artistic merit, beautiful execution and a great variety of types and motifs. The use of metrical legends, testifying in the literary renaissance of the so-called Golden Age of the Guptas, enhancing the ornamental grace to the devices on their coinage, reveal their characteristic indigenous features, though it is well-known that their coinage was initially influenced by that of the Kushāṇas, who were succeeded by the Guptas. The abundance of gold coins with innumerable types and varieties issued by the Gupta monarchs indicates the height of prosperity of their empire. It was Samudragupta, the second monarch of the dynasty, who was responsible for the modification in the coinage of the dynasty. The gold coinage of the Guptas has helped greatly to reconstruct the economic history as well as the trade and commercial activities of the country during the 4th-5th centuries of the Christian era and even in the subsequent period. The political stability, power and prestige of the Gupta empire of the period is also reflected in the issue of abundance of gold coinage. The abundance of gold, silver and copper issues in the different parts of their empire during their rule, and several inscriptions of the period testify to the fact that the economy of the empire was based on money.

Although the gold coinage of the Guptas has thrown much light on the economy as well as the currency system, trade and commercial activities of their empire, and influenced to a great extent the coinage of different kingdoms in the subsequent period of Indian history, it appears to have very little impact on the currency system of Orissa during the period of their rule and after. Evidences are now forthcoming, that the Guptas, who dominated the political scene of the whole of Northern India from the 4th century to 6th century A.D., contributed a good deal to the development of Orissan culture. But we are disappointed, when we take up the study of their coins discovered so far in this part of the country. Of course, it it is a well-known fact that hoarding and melting down of gold coins of other valuable metals from time to time for the purpose of manufacturing ornaments may be the reasons for their small finds.

Very few gold coins of the Guptas have so far been discovered in Orissa. A treasure trove of only three coins were recovered in 1939 from a village called Bhanupur, situated under Kaptipadā sub-division in Mayurbhanj District, while digging a tank. The village is situated on the bank of the river Sone, a tributary

of Buḍhābalaṅga.[1] Local information goes that the coins formed a part of a big hoard of gold coins, but unfortunately they were disbursed by those who found them and only three in number could be recovered. All the three coins belong to the well-known Archer type issues of Chandragupta II, the third monarch of the Gupta imperial family. One of these coins is now preserved in the Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar and the other two are in branch museum at Baripada the headquarters of the Mayurbhanj District.

An archer type gold coin of Vishṇugupta, a later member of the Gupta dynasty was discovered in association with the gold coins of Prasannamātra of the dynasty of Sarabhapura,[2] at Quila Banki in Cuttack District. In 1950, a gold coin of Kumāragupta I, successor of Chandragupta II was found at Kanja, a village situated under Bantala Police Station of Angul Sub-division in the district of Dhenkanal. This is also an Archer type coin and now preserved in the Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar.[3] In 1977-78, at the time of archaeological excavation at Lalitagiri in Cuttack District, an Archer type gold coin of Chandragupta II was recovered from a resident of the same village.[4]

Besides the coins mentioned above, which are known to have been discovered in Orissa, there are two other coins, one belonging to Chandragupta-Kumāradevī type and the other, of Samudragupta's lyrist type (Plate No. XLVII, Fig. 1, Nos. 1 and 2), now preserved in the Museum at Bhubaneswar. But they cannot be definitely said to have been discovered in Orissa as there is no record of their history of discovery in the Museum. These two coins weigh 5.410 gms. and 5.468 gms. and measure 2.3 cm. and 2.4 cm. respectively. The size of Archer types of Chandragupta II ranges from 2 cm. to 2.1 cm. and they weigh 7.854 gms., 5 709 gms. and 8.250 gms. (Plate No. XLVII, Figs. 1 and 2, Nos. 3, 4 and 6) and that of Kumāragupta I measures 2.1 cm. and weighs 8.013 gms. (Plate No. XLVII, Fig. 1, No. 5). As the findspot and history of discovery of the first two coins are not exactly known[5], it is not safe to attribute

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1. *Report on the Administration of Mayurbhanj*, 1939-40, p. 31 ; Orissa District Gazetteers, *Mayurbhanj*, 1967, pp. 57-58.
2. *ASI*, *AR*, 1926-27, p. 230. The coins of Prasannamātra were found stringed in the form of a necklace. See Chapter V.
3. This is also a Treasure Trove find as reported by the District Magistrate to the Secretary, Provincial Museum, Ravenshaw College, Cuttack (recorded in the Museum in the letter No. 1131/Rev. dated 6.12.1950) ; also see N. Senapati (Ed.), Orissa District Gazetteers, *Dhenkanal*, p. 47.
4. Information kindly given by Prof. K. S. Behera, Professor of History, Utkal University. This coin is now preserved in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar.
5. These coins are similar in appearance to those plates, mentioned by Rapson, *IC*, Plate IV, 9 and Smith, *IMC*, XV, 4 respectively.

them to be of Orissan finds. Further, the discovery of coins attributed to earlier Gupta emperors like Chandragupta I-Kumāradevī and Samudragupta has not yet come to the notice of the historians. General fabric of these coins show distinct features of the early Gupta coinage. It is now an well-known fact that the weight and fabric of the early Gupta coinage show distinct Kushāṇa influence. The early imperial Guptas followed the Kushāṇa weight standard of 124 grains or 8.035 gms. but later on it was changed to the Indian weight standard of *Suvarṇa* as prescribed by the *Smṛiti* writers, i.e., weighing 80 *ratis* or 146.4 grains or 9.460 gms. The differences in weight noticed in the above coins, as well as the gold coins of the same Gupta rulers found in other parts of the country, may be attributed to the clipping or sweating of the metal contents in them by dishonest persons. The technique of manufacturing as it appears from the coins, was not always the same, due, possibly, to the fact that they were prepared by different goldsmiths and it seems, little effort was made to strike with the die accurately on the coin-flan. It may also be pointed out here that these coins exhibit the superb artistic merit, beautiful execution and high percentage of gold content of the earlier Gupta coinage.[6] The percentage of gold contents of the Chandragupta-Kumāradevī type and Samudragupta's Lyrist type illustrated here, conform to their other prototypes mentioned in Allan's British Museum catalogue of the Gupta coins (Nos. 23 and 50 respectively). The former contains 82% and the later 88% of gold. The coins of Chandragupta II and that of Kumāragupta I mentioned above, contain 75% of gold, according to the laboratory report.

The devices depicted on the Archer type coin of Chandragupta II (No. 3 of Plate XLVII. Fig. 1) are as usually seen, on the obverse, the standing figure of the king of left, grasping bow in the left hand and the right hand holding an arrow, Garuḍa-standard behind the right arm, the legend *Chandra*, written vertically below the left arm and inside the bow-string, marginal legend, partially visible around the flan, reading *Śrī Mahārājadhirāja Śrī-Chandraguptaḥ*. The reverse has the devices within the dotted border, goddess Lakshmī facing front, seated on lotus, holding noose in the right hand and flower in the left hand, usual Gupta monogram above the right hand, the marginal legend is not visible clearly.[7]

The other two Archer types of the same king (Nos. 4 and 6) look similar in appearance. They depict on the obverse, the king standing to left, left hand holding the bow which is out of flan, right hand holding an arrow, half visible, the upper portion of the Garuḍa-standard is seen above the right hand, vertical legend

6. The percentage of the gold contents of the Gupta coins have been thoroughly analysed by scholars, Cf., S. K. Maity, *Early Indian Coins and Currency System*, pp. 61-69.

7. Cf. A. S. Altekar, *Catalogue of the Gupta Gold Coins in the Bayana Hoard*, Plates X, XI and XII.

under the left arm reads *Chandra*. The coin from Lalitagiri (No. 6) shows the first letter *cha*, only visible and other letters have become very much blurred. Both sides of the figure of the king from the waist a cloth-like object is seen hanging instead of the sword to the left. The coin No. 4 clearly shows a sword at the left side of the waist of the king. Both these coins seem to have been prepared by casting in moulds.

The coin of Kumāragupta I is also an usual Archer type depicting on the obverse, king standing to left holding bow which is out of the flan, right hand extended with an arrow across the Garuḍa-standard, vertical legend under the left arm, reading *Kumāra*. Marginal legend is not clearly visible, of which most of the letters are out of the flan. The reverse has within the dotted border the goddess Lakshmī seated on a lotus, facing front, with noose in the right hand and lotus in the left which is very much blurred.[8] No legend is visible. This coin also seems to have been prepared out of mould.

Some of the Archer types of Chandragupta II and his successors, with seated goddess on the reverse, show distinctly a different technique adopted for manufacturing these coins. The marginal legends on them are seen invariably out of flan and sometimes very much blurred in appearance. They also lack the beautiful execution of devices of the earlier coins of Samudragupta, Chandragupta-Kumāradevī and even other varieties of Chandragupta II. The general fabric of these coins would reveal that they were manufactured with the help of casting instead of die-striking like the earlier issues. They seem to have been later on trimmed by the goldsmiths who were entrusted with the work of minting coins in ancient times. They were trimmed in order to bring them the desired weight and size. In fact, coin-moulds in clay intended for casting Archer-type coins of Chandragupta II and some of the later members of the Gupta dynasty have now come to the notice of the scholars, discovered from Rajghat (Benaras) and Nalanda.[9] Some of these moulds show only the impressions of the obverse of some of the well-known varieties of the Gupta coins while others show the reverse only, representing the seated Lakshmī on a lotus, the well-known variety found throughout India including the Orissan finds. The clay moulds seem to suggest that these coin types continued to be manufactured even after the decline of the Gupta empire.

The Archer type with seated goddess reverse varieties of Chandragupta II and his successors appear to be more popular with the people as revealed by their finds in all parts of the Gupta empire and the adjoining regions which came under the cultural influence of the Guptas. The number of finds of the Archer type coins of Chandragupta II and his successors invariably exceed the other varieties issued by

8. Cf., A. S. Altekar, Plate XIX, Nos. 12 and 13.
9. B. Sahni, *The Technique of casting coins in Ancient India*, pp. 62, 39 and Note 2, Plate IV, Nos. 112-118.

the imperial Guptas. It is to be noted here that in the eastern region, the Archer type coins of the Guptas were imitated in a later period for currency purpose.[10] The coin-moulds of the Gupta coinage also suggest that the gold coins of these rulers were so popular with the people of various parts of the country that they continued to manufacture them with the help of moulds even long after the decline of the Gupta rule in India. It is interesting to note that the coin-moulds found so far, all belong to the Archer type and seated Lakshmī on the reverse variety of the Gupta coins.

One of the reasons for the relative paucity of Gupta gold coins in Orissa may be due to the fact that their discoveries from time to time, seldom come to the notice of the historians and numismatists and most of the gold coins are melted down by the people for the purpose of making ornaments. It is a well-known fact that in India gold coins of different periods were primarily intended for hoarding as bullion or in the from of ornaments for their high metallic value and useful to meet the necessities of life. They were regarded as valuable commodity rather than as currency and formed an excellent store of wealth without loss of their metallic value. The small find of the Gupta gold coins in Orissa also indicates that they were not used in ordinary day to-day transactions, but extensively hoarded as precious metal. These valuable pieces, though current in other parts of the country, as revealed by some epigraphical records, they could not have met the needs of the poorer people, who required small currencies for daily transactions. They were available only to the richer section of the society who hoarded them for making ornaments and to meet the future exegencies.

The find of few gold coins of the Gupta emperors is also not indicative of any political expansion, although, sources, other than coins have now revealed that several small kingdoms within Orissa owed allegiance to the Guptas. But these kingdoms do not appear to have used the gold coins of the Guptas for currency purpose. It is also now known that the different royal families of early medieval Orissa did issue any gold coins of their own for currency. We do not come across any reference to gold coin in the epigraphic records or any other sources of this period. While in the adjoining provinces of Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Bengal which formed the dominions of the Gupta empire, there are ample evidences to show the prevalence of gold coins of the Guptas and later imitations in gold and often used as coined money. We frequently come across the reference to gold coins of the Guptas, popularly known as *dinara*, evidently derived from the Roman

10. For imitation Gupta coins in East Bengal (Present Bangladesh) 7th-8th Century A.D., see, S. P. Vasu, *Second Supplementary Catalogue of coins to Vol. I*, p. 82 and Plate XV, Nos. 11 and 12 ; *JNSI*, Vol. XVII, pp. 123ff & Plate ; A. S. Altekar, Op.Cit., Plates XXXII, Nos. 11-15.

synonyms *denarious aureus*, in connection with the transactions concerning land.[11] In the post-Gupta period also, we have references to the gold coins, presumably of the Gupta type, in these regions indicating a regular currency of gold from the time of the imperial Guptas had continued to be in existence in these areas, which is also evidenced from the discovery of actual specimens as well as epigraphical records.[12] In comparison to these instances of the gold coinage of the contiguous provinces, we have no such currency system in gold in Orissa during the period of the Guptas nor in the post-Gupta period.

There are now several evidences to show that the influence of the Gupta culture was extended to various regions of Orissa which seems to have been split up into several small kingdom during the period of the Gupta supremacy in Northern India. Samudragupta's successful expedition of *Dakshiṇāpatha* i.e., his southern campaign, as revealed by the Allahabad pillar inscription,[13] made several rulers of South Kosala, the forest states as well as the coastal regions of Orissa and Kaliṅga in the South to acknowledge his supremacy. But it is generally believed that he did not annex the kingdoms lying to the South of the Vindhya range in his empire, after their defeat in his hands. Instead he liberated and reinstated the defeated kings in their respective kingdoms. He is known to have defeated rulers of at least six independent principalities which formed parts of ancient South Kosala and Kaliṅga, during his southern campaign. Of these, were, (1) Mahendra of Kosala, generally identified with South Kosala (the upper Mahānadī valley, the former Chattisgarh region of Madhya Pradesh and Sambalpur-Bolangir region of Orissa), (2) Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntāra, which may be identified with the Jharkhand tract of Ganjam and Koraput districts in Orissa and the Visakhapatnam district in Andhra Pradesh, (3) Manṭarāja of Kaurāla, presumably be identified with a portion of the Chhattisgarh state in Madhya Pradesh, comprising within the South Kosala, (4) Mahendragiri of Pishṭapura, i.e., the present Pithapuram in the Godāvarī district of Andhra Pradesh, (5) Svāmidatta of Koṭṭura, identified with the modern Kothoor in Ganjam district of Orissa, (5) Dāmana of Eraṇḍapalla, i.e., the modern Eraṇḍapalli near Chicacole in Andhra Pradesh. He also defeated Kubera of Devarāshṭra, most likely included in ancient Kaliṅga and has been identified with the modern Yellamanchili tract in Visakhapatnam district in Andhra Pradesh. As a result of this conquest, these principalities seem to have acknowledged his supremacy, but continued to rule

11. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. 1, pp. 273-359 ff; *JNSI*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 171-174; Sircar, *Numismatic and Epigraphical Studies*, pp. 41ff.
12. The coins of Samāchāradeva, Śaśāṅka, Jayanāga, Pṛithuvīra, Sudhanyāditya, the repousse coins of Mahendrāditya, Kramāditya, Prasannamātra are some of the extant imitation Gupta coin-types, current in these regions in the post-Gupta period—Cf., Sircar, *Num. & Ep. Studies*, pp, 41ff.
13. *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 1-17 ff., No. 1, Plate 1.

as semi-independent rulers. Although the political structure of the region remained unchanged apparently, distinct cultural influence of the Guptas is noticed in these areas after his southern campaign. A number of inscriptions from Orissa support the possibility of several rulers of this region including the north-eastern part of Orissa, acknowledging the supremacy of the Gupta emperors. This tradition, again, seems to have continued upto the beginning of the 7th century A.D. although it is believed that the Gupta empire from the later half of the 6th century A.D. had ceased to exist in Northern India. During this period, the Maukharis had dominated the political scene of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, which formed the heart of the Gupta empire as revealed by the Haraha inscription[14] as well as the inscription at Deo-Baranark.[15]

The discovery of several scupltures at Sitabhinji and Dengaposhi in Keonjhar District as well as at Bhubaneswar,[16] distinctly reveal Gupta characteristics and show strong influence of the Gupta culture. The inscribed Naṭarāja image inscription of Śatrubhañja of the Nāga family, discovered at Asanpat in the Keonjhar district has also revealed some Gupta influence in this part of Orissa.[17] The palaeography of the inscription may be assigned to about the first half of the 6th century A.D. The lauguage and the phrasaeologies used in it clearly reveal Gupta characteristics. Śatrubhañja seems to be an independent Nāga king and probably belonged to a line of the Nāgas, ruling from Padmāvati, the modern Pawaya in Madhya Pradesh. This family probably migrated to the forest states of the Vindhyas following the invasion of Samudragupta and established an independent kingdom known as Vindhyāṭavī, comprising the district of Keonjhar. This inscription reveals the name of Ubhaya-Tosali which is also found mentioned in a number of early medieval Orissan inscriptions, forming a separate kingdom in Orissa which earned great name and fame during this period and where Śatrubhañja made several donations at its different religious centres. The significance of the inscription in the present context, lies in the fact that, it also reveals that Orissa was divided into several independent kingdoms during 5th and 6th centuries, some of them acknowledging the supremacy of the imperial Guptas, though nominally, and indirectly, as is revealed by other evidences discussed below.

The use of the Gupta era in some copper plate inscriptions belonging to the

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14. *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 213-218 and Plate.
15. *EI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 115ff and Plate.
16. K. C. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, p. 214.
17. *OHRJ*, Vol. XIII, pp. 1-8ff. The editor of the inscription assigns it to the 3rd century A.D. But the palaeography, the iconography of the image as well as the internal evidences furnished by this epigraph, would suggest that it cannot be placed earlier than 6th century A.D.; See also, *JOH*, Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 5-10.

6th century A.D., also make us believe that at least some parts of Orissa acknowledged Gupta suzerainty. The Sumaṇḍala (Ganjam district) plates of Mahārāja Dharmarāja[18] mentions that he was ruling under Pṛithivīvigraha in the Ganjam region of Orissa in the Gupta year 250, corresponding to A.D. 570. Pṛithivīvigraha was apparently a viceroy under the Gupta emperors of the *Kaliṅga-rāshṭra*, which presumably formed a territorial unit or province of the Gupta empire.

Another copper plate grant from Kanas (Puri district) of Śrī-Lokavigraha-bhaṭṭāraka mentions that he was ruling from Tosali, comprising of eighteen forest states (*Ashṭādaśāṭavī-rājya*) during the Gupta year 280, corresponding to A.D. 600.[19] The use of the Gupta era in the records of Śambhuyaśas of the Mana family of Tosali (G.E. 260-A.D. 579)[20], Mahārāja Śivarāja of the Paṭiākelā grant (G.E. 283-A.D. 603)[21], Mahārāja Bhīmasena of South Kosala (G.E. 282-A.D. 601)[22] and the Ganjam plates of the Śailodbhava king Mādhavavarman (G.E. 300 A.D. 619)[23] is another evidence in favour of the spread of Gupta influence over Orissa and the adjoining regions. These inscriptions show that a number of feudatory chiefs, ruling over the coastal districts of Balasore, Puri, Cuttack and Ganjam as well as the rulers of Dakshiṇa Kosala (modern Raipur-Bilaspur districts in Madhya Pradesh and Bolangir-Kalahandi districts in Orissa) acknowledged the supremacy of the Gupta through their viceroys and continued to follow the Gupta traditions even after the downfall of the Gupta empire from Northern India in the first half of the 6th century A.D. From the glimpses of these inscriptional evidence, it can be reasonably said that the sphere of Gupta cultural as well as political influence was "much wider than that of its direct dominion and administration". As D. C. Sircar has rightly observed, "The Guptas are known to have contacted matrimonial alliances with the Vākāṭakas of the Berar region and the Kādamvas of the Kannaḍa country. The Kādamvas seem to have used the Gupta era in their inscriptions".[24] "The use of Gupta era in several Orissan inscriptions of 6th and 7th centuries A.D. tends to show the distinct Gupta influence in different parts of Orissa. The inscriptions of the Vigrahas are the direct evidences to show that Kaliṅga formed an integral part of the Gupta empire. Moreover, the rule of Śaśāṅka over Koṅgoda country comprising the eastern part of the Ganjam district as well as in Utkala or Uttara Tosali as indicated by the Ganjam and Midnapur inscriptions seems to be merely an after effect of the Gupta occupation of Kaliṅga".[25]

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18. *OHRJ*, Vol. I, pp. 66-69 ; *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 79-85ff.
19. *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 329-331ff.
20. *Ibid*, Vol. IX, pp. 287ff. and Vol. XXIII, pp. 201-02.
21. *Ibid*, Vol. IX, pp. 285-288ff.
22. *Ibid*, Vol. IX, pp. 342-45ff.
23. *EI*, Vol. VI, pp. 143-45ff.
24. Sircar, *Successors of the Śātavāhanas*, p. 88 and note ; pp. 234 and note ; p. 256.
25. *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 82ff.

From the above discussion, it can presumably be said that the Gupta emperors had no direct control over Orissan territories and the discovery of their gold coinage in small numbers signifies that they must have entered Orissan dominions during the rule of these Gupta viceroys, through trade or pilgrims.

No copper or silver coinage of the Guptas are also known to have been current in Orissa. It is known that Chandragupta II and his successors issued silver and copper coins in certain parts of their empire. The silver coins of the Guptas are exclusively found in the Śaka area in Western India which was annexed by Chandragupta II. Large number of silver and copper coins of Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta are found in Gujarat region which were restruck on the coins of the Western Kshatrapas.[26] During the reign of Kumāragupta I and his successors, their silver coins were introduced in the Central Provinces of the Gupta empire. A large number of copper coins of Chandragupta II are also known to have been discovered in this part of the country.[27] It is to be noted here that the circulation of silver and copper coins of the Guptas were confined to certain parts of their empire where coins of these metals were current before their occupation of those regions. It seems to suggest that the Guptas were following the numismatic traditions of those regions where people were accustomed with the silver and copper currencies. It also seems probable that during the rule of the Guptas and the subsequent period, the copper Puri-Kushāṇa and silver punch-marked coins which are abundantly found in Orissa, were regarded as the standard currency here. As it is already known that thers is no reference to any gold coins or to *dināra* in Orissan records, one is reasonable to think that the gold coins of the Guptas were not circulated for currency purpose. Some of the early inscriptions of Orissa occasionally mention the coin type calculated in *paṇa*,[28] possibly, denoting a copper coin. In fact, the actual specimens of copper coins in Orissa of the early period are the so-called Puri-Kushāṇa and a few Kushāṇa originals in copper, which were exclusively circulated in Orissa and regarded as the standard currency as evidenced from their abundant finds.

Although the gold coinage of the Imperial Guptas reflects the height of their prosperity during the period of their rule, this seems to be only meant for foreign trade and large scale commercial transactions, as the purchasing power of the gold coins were very high. They were regarded as the economic standard in trade. During the early period of the Imperial Gupta rule gold was easily available as it was coming from outside, from Roman trade through Western ports. The import

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26. P. L. Gupta, *Coin-Hoards from Gujarat State*, (Num. Notes & Monographs, No. 15, 1969), pp. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 13, 14, 16 and 19.
27. Allan, pp. LXXXVII-LXXXVIII.
28. S. N. Rajguru, *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 26 and 45; B. Mishra. *Orissa under the Bhauma kings*, pp. 15ff.

of Roman gold was mainly responsible for the issue of the Kushāṇa and later on, the Gupta gold currencies, in course of trade and commerce. The Roman coins are found in different parts of India e.g., Punjab, North-West Frontier Provinces, Afghanistan, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Central Provinces, Orissa in the north and Madras, Hyderabad, Karnataka, Cochin, Travancore, Padukottai state in the south.[29] The date of these coins ranges from 1st century B.C. to the 4th century A.D. But the direct trade with the Romans seems to have declined by the end of the 3rd century A.D. The Arab and the Chinese traders were carrying on trade with India and Rome and thus there was some indirect trade relationship with the Roman Empire existed during the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D. between India and Rome. The Chinese and Arabian traders during 4th and 5th centuries A.D. used to come to the eastern sea ports in the Bengal.[30] During this period, the ports at Coromandal coast and Tāmralipti were famous emporium of trade. The discovery of the Archer type gold coin of Chandragupta II in Central Java indicates that there was brisk maritime activities between India and the East Indies during the Gupta and the post-Gupta period.[31] It was probably carried by Indian traders to this land through the port of Tāmralipti. The *Periplus* and Ptolemy's *Geography* (1st and 2nd centuries A.D. respectively) describe both the western and the eastern sea coasts and mention many commercial centres and import towns like Syrastrene (Surat), Ariake, Soupara, Muziris, Bakare, Maisolia, Barygaza, etc. There were many internal trade routes known to have connected the western trade centres with those of the eastern sea ports. It seems probable that after the emergence of the Arabian and Chinese traders, the import of gold from Rome became less. During the time of the early Imperial Guptas, there seems to be brisk trade relations with the western countries as well as the eastern archipelago. It is also probable to think that the Gupta gold coins were carried by traders along the trade routes to eastern India. The eastern sea port of Tāmralipti was connected with the interrior through Orissan trade centres to Vārāṇasī and other centres of trade in North India. The Chinese sources also refer to the brisk trade between China, Arabia and Persia through Indian trade centres.[32] The Buddhist pilgrim Fa Hian travelled through the sea-port of Tāmralipti to Ceylon.[33] There was an overland trade route from Tonkin through Kāmarūpa in Assam across Puṇḍravardhana, i.e., North Bengal to Magadha and to western Indian trade centres.[34] From Hiuen Tsang's accounts, the

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29. *Ancient India* (Bulletin of the *Arch. Surv. of India*, 1946), No. 2.
30. P. L. Gupta, *Roman coins from Andhra Pradesh*, p. 53.
31. P. L. Gupta, "India's Foreign Trade and the Coins" in—A. M. Shastri (Ed.), *Coins and Early Indian Economy*, p. 149.
32. *HCIP*, Vol. III, pp. 637-38.
33. *Ibid*, p. 598.
34. *Ibid*, p. 599.

sea port of the Oḍra country Che-li-ta-lo or Charitra and Koṅgada (modern Ganjam district in Orissa) are famous for maritime trade.[35] During the Gupta rule, it seems that the sea-ports of Orissa were also in flourishing condition. The sea port of Tāmralipti was the famous emporium of trade of Eastern India as known from the various literary sources like *Raghuvaṁśa* of Kālidāsa and Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāra-Charita.*[36] This was also connected with the internal trade routes through Orissa to Ayodhyā and Magadha as also revealed by several early medieval Indian inscriptions.[37]

The downfall of the Imperial Guptas badly affected the foreign trade and commercial activities. The Hūṇa invasions and their settlements in different parts of the Western and Central India was one of the reasons in the decline of foreign trade during the Gupta rule. Moreover, after the decline of the Gupta empire, several small independent kingdoms had sprang up in the central and eastefn regions. It is also known that these small kingdoms were engaged in constant warfare among themselves for which the trading centres in these regions and also the sea-ports became insecure for trading and commercial transactions. Internal trade also became insecure for this reason. This also led to the closure of some of the important sea-ports for foreign trade. The feuds amongst the small states caused the traders feel insecured to travel from one kingdom to another with their merchandise. They also had to pay too many taxes to different states through which they had to travel. Most of these small states did not issue coins of any metal of their own. Orissa, as it is known from the epigraphical records, stated earlier, was split up into several independent principalities and no coins of their own are known to have been found so far. They were probably self sufficient with the earlier coins existing in the market for trade and commerce with the neighbouring states as well as the cowries for smaller transactions. The produces of the field also constituted another media of exchange. The rise of several small principalities also contributed to the economic backwardness for circulation of gold coins in Orissa. It is also to be noted that in Gujarat where Gupta suzerainty was extended, we rarely find their gold coins and their small numbers cannot be taken to be the currency of those regions. In fact, the earlier silver coins of the western Kshatrapas, which were in circulation in this region, were utilised by the Guptas as their own issues.[38] It is a well-known fact that the Kshatrapa silver coins were also utilised by the Śātavāhanas before the advent of the Guptas in this region.[39] It is reasonable

35. *HCIP*, Vol. III, p. 597.
36. *Ibid.*
37. *Ibid.*
38. P. L. Gupta, *Coin Hoards from Gujarat*, pp. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 13, 14, 16, 19.
39. Cf. A. M. Shastri, "Silver Coinage of the Śātavāhanas"; D. C. Sircar (Ed.), *Early Indian Indigenous Coins*, pp. 113-119.

to think that the copper and silver issues of earlier rulers of this region served the purpose of the internal commercial transactions during the Guptas also and even during the subsequent period.

The absence of the silver and copper coins of the Guptas and their contemporaries in Orissa can be attributed to the already existing silver punch-marked and copper Puri-Kushāṇa and Kushāṇa coins in the Orissan market. Several epigraphical records suggest that silver punch-marked coins were in circulation in Orissa even during the 9th-10th centuries A.D.[40]

The above discussion allow us to presume that the gold coins issued by the Imperial Guptas mainly for foreign trade as well as for higher commercial transactions. They were also used for distribution by the kings and emperors in social and religious ceremonies just as the Mughal emperors issued gold *Muhars* for distribution as gifts and not for currency. It is also known from the accounts of the foreigners who visited India during 17th century A.D. that the gold coins were not current but found in the houses of the great nobles.[41] The same was also with the Gupta gold coins. In Orissa their small numbers may also indicate that they were carried by pilgrims or traders in course of their pilgrimage or trade. The standard currency throughout the Gupta empire and the contiguous parts, where Gupta cultural influence extended considerably, was copper and silver, apart from the cowries. The downfall of the Gupta empire, the Huṇa invasion and the splitting up of the empire into several small states, greatly hampered the foreign trade and the gold coins came to be used rarely in trade and commerce. They became objects for hoarding mainly due to their high metallic value.

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40. See Chapter I.
41. *JNSI*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 53 and Note 1.

CHAPTER FIVE

COINS OF THE RULERS OF SARABHAPURA

A family of rulers of an unknown dynasty, who ruled from a placed named Śarabhapura during about 6th-7th centuries A.D. and called themselves *Paramabhāgavata*, (devotee of Vishṇu) is known from the discovery of a number of epigraphical as well as numismatic materials.[1] The distribution of these materials, discovered so far, indicate a considerably extensive kingdom occupied by these rulers in Chhattisgarh division of Madhya Pradesh and a part of Kalahandi district in Orissa, comprising the territory of ancient South Kosala. All the copper plate records and most of the coins of this dynasty have been discovered in the vicinity of Raipur district of Madhya Pradesh and Kalahandi district of Orissa. The city of Śarabhapura, which was originally the capital of these rulers has been variantly identified by different scholars at Sambalpur, Sarabhgarh, Sarangarh, Sarpagarh and other places. It seems to have been named after one of the earlier members of this dynasty whose name was Śarabha or Śarabharāja, the father of Narendra who was the earliest known ruler of this dynasty to have issued copper plate characters.[2] The name of one Śarabharāja is met with in the Eran posthumus stone pillar inscription of Goparāja dated in the Gupta year 191 (C. A.D. 510-511), who was the maternal grandfather of Goparāja and identified by scholars with Śarabha, father of Narendra of the dynasty of Śarabhapura.[3] The other known rulers of this dynasty, as revealed by their epigraphical records, are, Prasannamātra, who is known from his gold coins and the copper plate inscriptions of his successors, Mānamātra, son of Prasannamātra, known only from the records of his successors, Mahā-Jayarāja, son of Prasannamātra, known from his epigraphical records. Mahā-Sudevarāja and Pravararāja, sons of Mānamātra issued their respective charters from Śarabhapura

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1. For epigraphical records, see, *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 191ff. and plates; *IHQ*, Vol. XIX, pp. 139ff; *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 281ff; Vol. XXXI, pp. 263ff; Vol. XXXIII, pp. 209ff, 155ff; Vol. XXXIV, pp. 28ff; *JESI*, Vol. IV, pp. 70ff; for numismatic sources, *Proc. of the Or. Conf.*, Lahore, p. 461; *IHQ*, Vol. IX, p. 595; *JAHRS*, Vol. IV, pp. 195ff; Majumdar-Altekar, *The Gupta-Vakataka Age*, p, 57 and note 3; *JNSI*, Vol. XII, p. 8 and Plate I, 4-6; Vol. XVI, p. 216; B. C. Jain, *Inventory of the Hoards and Finds of Coins and Seals from Madhya Pradesh* (Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 5, Varanasi, 1957), p. 13; *JNSI*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 84ff; Vol. XL, p. 108ff.
2. *IHQ*, Vol. XIX, pp. 139ff.; *EI*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 267ff.
3. *IHQ*, Vol. XIX, pp. 139ff.

and Śrīpura. Another member of this family named Vyāghrarāja, grandson of Mahā-Jayarāja and son of Pravararāja (probably not of the same name as mentioned above, who was the son of Mānamātra) issued his charter from Prasannapura. Thus the later members of this family seem to have changed their capital from Śarabhapura to Śrīpura and Prasannapura. The history and chronology of these rulers have been a matter of controversy among scholars as the available sources do not appear to be sufficient enough to come to a definite conclusion on the point. For our purpose, the major part of their history seems to be of little interest as the gold coins attributable to this dynasty, can be assigned only to the early period of their rule and the available epigraphs of the latter rulers do not reveal anything about this coinage and their bearing on the history of Orissa of the period.

Though we have a large number of copper plate grants of the family of Śarabhapura and from which it is known that they were associated with an extensive territory in South Kosala, only a few coins may be assigned to this dynasty. The only coins so far attributed to this dynasty are those of Prasannamātra whose name is known from his coins and the epigraphical records of his successors i.e., Mahā-Jayarāja, Vyāghrarāja, grandson of Mahā-Jayarāja and great-grandson of Prasanna-mātra is known to have issued charter from Prasannapura, apparently named after his great-grandfather, the issuer of the gold coins.

The coins of Prasannamātra are not of usual type. Though the metal is gold, it is highly debased or can very well be said as gold plated and struck in repousse process, having characters and designs on one side only. The size of these coins are usually 17.55 mm. each weighing 1.330 gms. The designs depicted on one side, are, an effigy of Garuḍa with human face, standing on the horizontal line which divides the coin into two parts. The wings of the Garuḍa are spread out, to his proper right, are the crescent moon, a round dot above and a wheel (*chakra*) encircled by dots ; to his proper left, the so-called sun symbol and a conch shell (*Śaṅkha*) opening to right or left. In the lower half of the coin, below the horizontal line is the legend *Śrī-Praśannamātra* in box-headed characters of the so-called Central Indian alphabet of about 6th century A.D. Below the letter *sa* of the legend, a *purṇaghaṭa* or *kalaśa*, i.e. the sacred pitcher is depicted with a lid above. The border of the coin is dotted. (Plate XLVIII, Fig. 2).

The discovery of coins of Prasannamātra in different areas of Chhattisgarh is quite large and they have been recorded by several scholars.[4]

Apart from different regions in Chhattisgarh, these coins of Prasannamātra are also found in Kalahandi and Cuttack districts of Orissa. In 1973, six repousse

4. *Proc. of Or. Conf.*, Lahore, p. 461 ; *IHQ*, Vol. IX, p. 595 ; *JAHRS*, Vol. IV, pp. 195ff ; Majumdar-Altekar, *The Gupta-Vakataka Age*, p. 57, and Note 3; *JNSI*, Vol. XII, p. 8 and Plate I, 4-6 ; Vol. XVI, p. 216 ; B. C. Jain, *Inventory of the Hoards and Finds of Coins and Seals from Madhya Pradesh*, p. 13 ; *JNSI*, Vol. XL, pp. 108ff and Plate,

coins of Prasannamātra were unearthed at the village Nehna under Khariar subdivision of Kalahandi district.[5] In 1977, five more coins of the same type of Prasannamātra was unearthed from the same site.[6] The historical importance of this area is also known from the earlier discovery of the copper plate grants of Mahā-Sudevarāja[7] from Nehna and Mahā-Jayarāja[8] from Amgura in the same district. Two more coins of Prasannamātra were discovered from the village Mārāguḍā under the Nawpara Sub-division of the same district.[9] One of them has the legend *Śrī-Prasaṁna* with the usual Garuḍa symbol within the dotted circle. The other coin has besides the usual religious symbol, the legend *Śrī-Prasannamātra* as is usually found in his other species. Below the letter *sa* there is a cluster of six or seven dots.

It is known from Archaeological Survey Reports for 1926-27, "A collection of 48 gold pieces found in Mauza-Berhampur of the Qilā Bāṅki, Government Estate in the Cuttack district, 47 of the pieces are in thin metal with four pieces of a gold necklace and two broken earrings and prove to be religious tokens or largesse money issued about 6th century by the mother of Śrī-Prasanna, probably a local ruler under the Gupta kings. They bear the figure of Garuḍa in repousse relief. A thick gold piece found with them is a coin of Vishṇugupta (c. 540-460 A.D.), whose standing image it bears along with Garuḍa embles...... It is being temporarily kept in the Patna Museum coin Cabinet".[10]

These coins of Prasannamātra, though they are called 'gold pieces', are so much debased, that they look like gold plated silver pieces. Even earlier scholars have taken them as silver coins and thus L. P. Pandeya Sarma wrote several years back "the coin is of silver, but there is a faint polish of gold all over and consequently it has a bit of yellowish colour".[11] On the basis of his examination some scholars have also believed that Prasannamātra issued both gold and silver coins.[12]

We may here refer to two other proto-types of Prasaunamātra's coies. They belong to Mahendrādity and Kramāditya of an unknown family. These are also of repousese types found in the same Chhattisgarh region of Madhya Pradesh where

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5. *New aspects of History of Orissa*, Vol. II, pp. 26-30. Out of these six pieces, four are now in the Sambalpur University Museum, one is in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar and the rest is with Sri Jitamitra Singhdeo, the Yuvaraj of the former Khariar State.
6. They are also now with Sri Singhdeo.
7. *EI*, Vol, IX, pp. 17ff.
8. *JESI*, Vol. IV, pp. 70ff.
9. They are also now with Sri Singhdeo of Khariar.
10. *ASI*, *AR*, 1926-27, p. 230.
11. *JAHRS*, Vol. IV, pp. 195ff.
12. *New Aspects of History of Orissa*, 1978, pp. 26-30ff.

Prasannamātra's coins have been discovered. However, very few coins of Kramāditya are so far known whereas the number of already known Mahendrāditya's coins is quite large like those of Prasannamātra.[13] In Orissa, the coin of Mahendrāditya is known to have been found, in the old fort of Madanpur-Rampur in Kalahandi district.[14] Recently in 1981, a hoard of six repousse coins of Mahendrāditya and Kramāditya have been found at Mārāguḍa, a village under the Nawapara Police Station of the Kalahandi district. Out of these, five coins belong to Mahendrāditya and one to Kramāditya. They are now preserved in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar (Plate XLVIII, Fig. 1).[14a] The biggest hoard of Mahendrādity's coins, so far discovered is that of the Khairtal find in Madhya Pradesh,[15] and that of Prasannamātra is the find of Qila Banki in Cuttack district in Orissa.[16] It is to be noted that Mahendrāditya's coins have also been found in association with those of Prasannamātra in some parts of Chhattisgarh.

The coins of Mahendrāditya and Kramāditya like those of Prasannamātra contain an effigy of Garuḍa with human face within the dotted border standing on the horizontal line with wings spread out, to his proper right are the crescent moon with a round dot not above and the *Chakra* encircled by dots and to his proper left, the sun symbol and a conch-shell opening to the right or left. Below these devices are the legends in box-headed characters of about 6th century A.D., *Śrī-Mahendrāditya* and *Śrī-Kramādityasya* in their respective coins. The coins of Kramāditya, so far known to have been discovered, bear the legend with genitive suffix *sya*, unlike the coins of Mahendrāditya. On some of the coins of Mahendrāditya, below the legend there are a cluster of dots and a small letter differently read by scholars as *ṛi*, *u* or *da*. On some of his coins the cluster of dots are found absent and only the solitary letter is noticed. Again, on some coins, both the cluster of dots and the solitary letter are found absent and instead, the name of the issuer is written in two lines as, (1) *Śrī-Mahendrā* (2) *ditya*.[17] The coins of Kramāditya also contain the solitary letter *ru* or *ṛi* below the letter *ma* of the legend, but unlike the coins of Mahendrāditya and Prasannamātra, the symbols of the cluster of dots or the *Kalaśa* are conspicuously absent. The difference between the coins of Mahendrāditya, Kramāditya and Prasannamātra is the solitary letter found on the coins of the former two rulers whereas in the latter's coins, in place of the solitary letter we find the symbol of *Kalaśa* sometimes with the cluster of dots. It is to be noted

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13. For the discovery of Mahendrāditya and Kramāditya coinage in Madhya Pradesh see *JNSI*, Vol. XXII, p. 184ff. ; Vol. X, pp. 137ff.
14. *OHRJ*, Vol. I, p. 137.
14a. *Journal of the Orissa Research Society*, Vol. I, pp. 34-41.
15. *JNSI*, Vol. X, pp. 137ff.
16. *ASI, AR*, 1926-27, p. 230.
17. Cf. *JNSI*, Vol. XL, Plate III, Nos. 1-3.

here that the coins of Mahendrāditya are bigger in size than those of Kramāditya and Prasannamātra, measuring 1.8 cm. sometimes 2 cm. and 2.1 cm. and weighing 1.388 gm. It is also to be noted that some of Mahendrāditya's coins contain the legend in the Gupta type of scripts of 5th century A.D.[18] Kramāditya's coins are known so far in one size similar to those of Prasannamātra, the diameter of them varying from 1.7 cm. to 1.9 cm. and weight, from 1.330 gm. to 1.380 gms.

It will not be out of place to mention here another variety of repousse coins of the same fabric as the above, which were in circulation during 5th-6th centuries A.D. in Bastar region of Madhya Pradesh and north-western part of Koraput district in Orissa. These coins were issued by the Nala dynasty who held sway over the Bastar and Koraput region during 5th-6th centuries A.D. The history of their rule in these areas is mainly known from their inscriptions and the repousse type gold coins issued by them. Their coins have close similarity with Garuḍa types of Mahendrāditya, Kramāditya and Prasannamātra, so far as their fabric, weight and size are concerned. These coins are seated bull type repousse pieces having the figure of a couchant bull to left or right, crescent in front of the bull over the upper half of the horizontal line which divides the coin into two halves. The line varies between one and three in number. The lower part below the line contains the name of the issuer written in box-headed characters of about 6th century A.D. ending either in genitive or nominative case. So far, the coins of the three early Nala rulers, Bhavadatta, Arthapati and Varāharāja were known to scholars. A big hoard of 32 coins of these three rulers was discovered in 1939 at Edenga in the Kondegaon Tahsil of the former Bastar State.[19] But in 1977, similar repousse type coins having the seated bull motif with legend in box-headed scripts like those of the Nalas were discovered at Kulia in Durg district of Madhya Pradesh.[20] They belong to two hitherto unknown rulers named Śrī-Nandanarāja and Stambha. They were found in association with the other bull type coins of the Nala kings, Bhavadatta and Arthapati and also with the Garuḍa type coins of Mahendrāditya. Thus we see that two types of repousse coins are so far known to have been in circulation in South Kosala region during 6th-7th centuries A.D. The Nala coins are so far known in two sizes, one measuring 2.1 cm. and the other in smaller denomination, measuring 1.5 cm. Out of the 32 coins of the Edenga hoard, the coins of only Varāharāja are available in the above two sizes, i.e., 7 larger and 22 in small size and the coins of other rulers are all of larger size. Though the author has not mentioned

18. *Ibid*, p. 109. It is also to be noted that like the coins of Prasannamātra the coins of Mahendrāditya and Kramāditya are also highly debased and the gold content on their coins are too small, for which some of their coins also look like gold plated silver coins.

19. *JNSI*, Vol. I, pp. 29 ff.

20. *JNSI*, Vol. XL, pp. 108 ff. and Plate III.

the sizes of the coins of Nandanarāja and Stambha, they look similar in size to those of Mahendrāditya and Prasannamātra respectively, from the photograph. No epigraphical record of these two issuers is so far known to the scholarly world.

It is interesting to note here that a big hoard of 147 small copper coins having the couchant bull device on one side and the name of the issuer as *Śrī-Nanda* in box-headed characters of the same period as those found in the Nala coins, were discovered in the coastal district of Balasore in Orissa. T. N. Ramachandran and others[21] on the evidence of six similar coins collected somewhere from the South, have attributed them to the coinage of the Sālaṅkāyana. On the basis of the type of scripts and coin-motif, it may presumably be attributed to have belonged to the coinage of the Nalas or at least to the Bastar and Chhattisgarh region of the Madhya Pradesh.

The Nala, rulers, due to their Śaivite affiliation, adopted Śaivite motifs of humped bull and crescent for their coins, just as the Śarabhapurīya rulers adopted winged Garuḍa motif due to their Vaishṇavite faith. A careful examination of all these repousse type coins from the point of view of fabric and the reasonable degree of uniformity in weight standard as well as palaeography of the legends reveal that there was not a big gap of time between the respective issuers. However, it does not satisfactorily conclude on the question of the chronology of these coins, at least the three rulers, Mahendrāditya, Kramāditya and Prasannamātra who are known to have issued Garuḍa-type repousse coins. Moreover, the identification of Mahendrāditya and Kramāditya have still been a matter of controversy among scholars, as there is no corroborative evidence to establish their rule except their gold coins, although we have evidences for Prasannamātra to attribute him to the Śarabhapurīya dynasty.

Some scholars, on the basis of palaeography on Mahendrāditya's coins, have tried to identify him with the king Mahendra whom Samudragupta defeated and reinstated in his kingdom during his southern campaign, as revealed by his Allahabad pillar inscription.[22] But as D. C. Sircar rightly suggests, this Mahendra will be too earlier in date to be identified with Mahendrāditya of the repousse coins.[23] According to him, "the *Āditya*-ending names which appear to have been popularised by the Guptas, is not expected in other families so early as the middle of the 4th

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21. B. C. Law (Ed.), *D. R. Bhandarkar Volume*, pp. 213-217 ; B. D. Chattopadhyaya, *Coins and Currency Systems in South India*, pp. 9ff., and Plate I, No. 7. Actual find-spot of these coins is not known. According to T. N. Ramachandran, they were in the possession of Mr. S. T. Srinivasagopalachari of Madras, frow whom they were obtained by the Director-General of Archaeology in India. See also Chapter VI.
22. *IHQ*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 247-59 ff.
23. *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 83.

century A.D. Mahendrāditya of Kosala seems to have been named after the Gupta monarch Kumāragupta I-Mahendrāditya.[24] V. P. Rode, while classifying the coins of Mahendrāditya into two groups, holds the opinion that the first group was of Kumāragupta I and the second group by Tivaradeva, the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī king and his successors.[25] According to A. S. Altekar, these coins were issued by a local ruler who assumed the *biruda* or epithet of Mahendrāditya.[26] But he is also not convinced in his own views in the absence of any definite proof. V. V. Mirashi suggested that they were issues of Sūra dynasty in the name of their overlord Kumāragupta I-Mahendrāditya of the Gupta dynasty whose era has been used in their epigraphs.[27] B. C. Jain earlier held that the coins bearing the name of Mahendrāditya who "might be the successor of Narendra of the Pipardula grant belonging to the dynasty ruling from Śarabhapura" if his name be taken as an indication of it.[28] He believes that the find of Prasannamātra and Mahendrāditya's coins together also suggest this view. But subsequently, on the discovery of Mahendrāditya's coins with those of Kramāditya in Raipur district "totally similar in style, fabric and weight", he changed his former contention and held that "the coins with the legend *Mahendrāditya* were issued by Kumāragupta I and those with the legend Kramāditya, by his successor Skandagupta".[29] P. L. Mishra attributed the coins of Mahendrāditya to Mahendra whom Samudragupta defeated during his South Indian campaign. This king, according to him, belonged to the Nala dynasty.[30] S. N. Rajguru on the palaeography of the legend believes that king Mahendrāditya having the *biruda* or epithet of the Guptas was possibly a descendant of the king of Kosala and had political relation with the Guptas and lived during the time of Mahārāja Tushṭikāra of an unknown family of the Terasinga grant discovered at a place not far from the fort of Madanpur-Rampur in the Kalahandi district, the place of discovery of Mahendrāditya's coin.[31] According to him the scripts used on the coin belong to about 6th or 7th century A.D. N. Ahmad, while refuting the views on the identification of Mahendrāditya, further complicates the theory by saying that he is identical with the king of that name mentioned in *Kathā-sarita-sāgara* and places him tentatively after the fall of the Nalas in the last quarter of the 5th century A.D.[32]

It is known from the Eran Pillar inscription of the time of Bhānugupta of

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24. *Ibid*, Vol. XXXI, p. 105 and Note 2.
25. *JNSI*, Vol. X, pp. 137-39.
26. *Ibid*, p. 339.
27. *Ibid*, Vol. XI, p. 109.
28. *Ibid*, Vol. XVI, pp. 215 ff.
29. *Ibid*, Vol. XXII, pp. 184-87.
30. *IHQ*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 247-59.
31. *OHRJ*, Vol. I, pp. 123-38.
32. *JNSI*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 31 ff.

the Gupta year 191 (C. 510 A.D.), that one Goparāja, maternal grandson of Śarabharāja was a vassal king under the Gupta monarch Bhānugupta.[33] This Śarabharāja has been identified with Śarabha, father of Narendra of the Pipardula and Kurud charters, who was possibly the founder of the dynasty ruling from Śarabhapura during 5th century A.D.[34] Their capital Śarabhapura seems to have named after him. If he is taken to be the maternal grandfather of Goparāja, who was ruling in about 510 A.D. under the later Guptas, it is possible to think that Narendra might have ruled during the later part of the 6th century A.D. It is also known from the charters of Narendra that he owed atleast nominal allegiance to a Gupta monarch, though the name of his overlord does not occur in his inscriptions. Probably political influence of the imperial Guptas existed to some extent in some parts of South Kosala during the beginning of the 6th century A.D., though the Imperial Gupta power was in the decline during this period. It seems, though the early Śarabhapurīyan rulers owed allegiance to the later Guptas, it was nominal and virtually they were independent rulers as revealed by their epigraphical records and their independent gold coinage. There is no direct evidence to prove that South Kosala was under the administration of the Guptas after atleast Narendra. Narendra also does not appear to have issued his own coinage like his successors, as no coin issued in his name is so far known to the scholars. The issue of gold coinage indicating sovereign status, in this dynasty is known only after Narendra. His successors seem to have thrown off the yoke of the Guptas and started ruling as sovereign monarchs for all intents and purposes, though the cultural influence of the Guptas continued to exist in his region. The use of Gupta era in a few inscriptions of the subsequent period i.e. 6th and first half of the 7th century A.D., in parts of South Kosala as well as in the coastal districts of Orissa[35]; are no indication of Gupta suzerainty over these areas when the Imperial Guptas already ceased to exist in Northern India. The Gupta cultural influence in these regions is well known from various sculptural evidences discovered at different parts of Orissa. It seems atleast cultural influence ofthe Guptas continued to prevail upon parts of Orissa including Dakshiṇa-Kosala since the time of Samudragupta. It is also apparent from the epigraphical records of the Śarabhapurīya rulers after Narendra, that they were virtually independent. This can be conjectured from the issue of gold coins by some of the rulers particularly by Prasannamātra as discussed earlier. Though there are controversies among scholars about Mahendrāditya and Kramāditya as to which dynasty of South Kosaly they belonged, it is now clear from several considerations that they were also members of the Śarabhapura family as discussed below.

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33. *CII*, Vol. III, p. 93.
34. *HCIP*, Vol. III, pp. 218 ff.
35. See Chapter IV.

In the absence of any satisfactory evidence the relationship between Narendra of the Śarabhapura family, and Mahendrāditya, Kramāditya and Prasannamātra has not yet been determined. But it can very well be conjectured atleast on typological consideration of their gold coins that Mahendrāditya, Kramāditya and Prasannamātra belonged to one and the same family of rulers of South Kosala. The distribution of their coins in the Kosala region would also suggest that they belonged to this area. One can easily observe that the position of the symbols depicted on their respective coins have remained unchanged. The cluster of dots below the legend on the coins of Mahendrāditya and Prasannamātra look very much similar to eaeh other. It can also be said that there was not a very big gap of time between these rulers from the point of view of palaeography of the legends on their coins. B. C. Jain has rightly observed elsewhere, that Mahendra might have succeeded to the throne of Śarabhapura after Narendra, as the names are indicative of some relationship between the two. Similarity in the names can, however be noticed in the names of Prasannamātra and his son Mānamātra. But one interesting thing to be noted here, regarding the scripts used in Mahendrāditya's coins that two types of scripts have been noticed on them.[36] One with box-headed characters of Central Indian variety and the other with Gupta type of scripts. This may be due to two different mint-masters and different minting places which were responsible for this difference. It is also likely that coins with different scripts were struck by the later members of his family as commemorative tokens.

The relationship between Mahendrāditya and Kramāditya is also not known, though both the rulers issued repousse type coins with similar devices and same type of scripts. It is not unlikely that Kramāditya was one of the successors of Mahendrāditya to the throne of Śarabhapura and filled up the gap between Narendra and Prasannamātra, though at the present state of our knowledge it is difficult to say anything definitely. The solitary letters found on the coins of Mahendrāditya and Kramāditya below the legends may suggest that these two rulers belonged to the same family. It has already been pointed out that the coins of Mahendrāditya bear sometimes both cluster of dots and the solitary letter and sometimes only the letter below the legend, whereas the coins of Kramāditya contain only the solitary letter *ru* or *ṛi*. This may indicate that Kramāditya succeeded Mahendrāditya. It is interesting to note that the solitary letter is not found in the coins of Prasannamātra in place of which a symbol for *Kalasa* or both cluster of dots and the *Kalasa* are depicted. This may be indicative of the fact that by the time of Prasannamātra who might have succeeded Kramāditya, the practice of putting a solitary letter below the legend was given up and in its place the symbol for *Kalasa* was adopted. As the coins were issued in the name of respective rulers of the same family, this is but natural to think that there might have some minor additions or alterations in their

36. *JNSI*, Vol XL, pp. 108 ff. and Plate III.

respective coin-motifs. It is to be noted here that similar solitary letters are found on the coins of the later Guptas.[37] Probably this practice of putting solitary letter was adopted by Mahendrāditya from the later Guptas. This letter on the later Gupta coins might have at first meant to indicate mint-marks, the initial letter of the mint-master's name or the minting place where the coin was minted. It may be reasonable to think that perhaps Mahendrāditya and Kramāditya blindly adopted this device for their coins without realising its significance. This may be the reason for the change of device for a religious symbol of *Kalasa* subsequently on the coins of Prasannamātra. B. C. Jain opines that these letters may be taken as numerals denoting the regnal years of the respective issuers, but at the present state, we cannot accept this view as there is no such evidence to prove the use of such letter-numerals in South Kosala region during this period.

The theory of those who held that Mahendrāditya of the repousse coins was identical with Kumāragupta I-Mahendrāditya and Kramāditya with Skandagupta of the Imperial Gupta dynasty, is equally untenable on the ground that Kumāragupta and Skandagupta are not so far known to have issued repousse type coins in any part of their empire. They had their usual type coins in gold which are known from several discoveries made from time to time. In some of their occupied areas like Gujarat region they, however, introduced silver coins on the model of the silver issues of the Western Kshatrapas which were in circulation in these areas. The Gupta coins bear coin-motifs on both the sides and on the obverse invariably consists of the figure of the monarch who issued the coin along wtih other symbols of religious importance. But the Śarabhapurīya coins do not have this recognised convention of the Guptas. A few copper coins of Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I are known to have been discovered in Malwa.[38] One of the copper coins of Chandragupta II bears on the reverse, which is divided into two halves, the upper part with a Garuḍa and the lower one with the legend *Mahārāja-Śrī-Chandraguptaḥ*. The idea of this coin-device might have originated from the existing local numismatic tradition, and Chandragupta II might have adopted the idea for his copper coins as in the case of silver coins of the Guptas in Gujarat and Kathiawar. It is true that "local traditions have considerable role in Indian history even in the field of numismatic".[39] Altekar has rightly observed that the repousse type of Mahendrāditya coin was imitated from the reverse device of this coin of Chandragupta II.[40] It should be noted here that the Guptas did not issue any new type of

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37. A. S. Altekar, *Catalogue of the Gupta Gold Coins in the Bayana Hoard*, pp. CXVII-CXIX.
38. *Ibid.*
39. *JNSI*, Vol. XXIII, pp, 216 ff and 340 ff.
40. *Ibid*, Vol. X, Part II, pp. 140 ff.

gold coins exclusively for this part of their empire and the existing copper coins prevalent here before their rule were only remodelled after the Gupta style as in the case of their occupied areas in Gujarat.

Attention may also be invited to an interesting point regarding the Garuḍa symbol adopted in the coins of Mahendrāditya, Kramāditya and Prasannamātra. If minutely observed, we can notice that exactly similar type of symbol as on the repousse coins of the above rulers, has been adopted in the seal attached to the Malhar copper plate charter of Vyāghrarāja, who is evidently a later member of the Śarabhapurīyan family.[41] He is known from his inscription to be the son of Jayabhaṭṭāraka (may be identified with Jayarāja or Mahā-Jayarāja of his epigraphical records) and grandson of Prasannamātra (evidently Prasannamātra of the repousse coins) and younger brother of Pravara-bhaṭṭāraka. He issued the charter from a place called Prasannapura evidently named after his grandfather Prasannamātra. So far as the seal attached to his charter is concerned, it shows a marked deviation from the recognized convention relating to the symbols adopted in all the other seals of the Śarabhapurīyan records. In the place of the conventioal devices of *Abhisheka-Lakshmī* figure with auxiliary symbols in the upper portion of the seal, it bears as on the repousse coins of Mahendrāditya, Kramāditya and Prasannamātra, the emblems of winged Garuḍa, the side view of a *chakra* (wheel) at the left and a *Śaṅkha* (Conch-shell)[42]. The lower part contains one-line legend giving the name of the issuer prefixed by the honorific *Śrī* in nominative singular (*S'rī-Vyāghrarājaḥ* as in the reposse coins), unlike the two-lined in verse of the other Śarabhapurīyan seals. The use of the coin devices of the early Śarabhapurīyans in the seal of the later members of the family is known for the first time from the charter of Vyāghrarāja. It may also probably indicate that the Garuḍa emblem as coin device was first introduced by the early independent Śarabhapurīyan rulers. It seems, after Prasannamātra, the kingdom of Śarabhapura was divided among several of his successors who ruled their respective dominions though in independent capacity, but economically weak enough to issue gold coinage of their own.

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41. *EI*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 45-50 and Plate ; also see the discussion on this king by A. M. Shastri in his paper on "*The Śarabhapuriyas*" *in Prāchya Pratibhā*, Vol. V, No. 1, pp. 1 ff. There are controversies among scholars on the attribution of Vyāghrarāja to the Śarabhapurīyan family, as he claims in his charter to have belonged to *Amar-ārya-kula* (*Amarārya* family). But the identical symbols adopted in his seal and the repousse coins of Prasannamātra would evidently suggest that he belonged to the line of kings ruling from Śarabhapura.

42. According to the editors of the charter, the seal is much corroded and think that the symbol at the middle may be a lion to front. A. M. Shastri could identify the symbols quite correctly, but he also overlooked the possibility of identifying them with the symbols on the repousse coins of the above rulers.

The gold coins of Mahendrāditya, Kramāditya and Prasannamātra though debased issues indicate that they enjoyed independent status when the Guptas had become weak. The tradition of minting gold coins was maintained by many ruling families of northern India, after the fall of the Imperial Guptas. It is now an well-known fact in the history of Indian numismatics that there were gold coins imitated from the Gupta coinage by a number of independent rulers of northern India, though the high standard of the Gupta coinage was totally absent in them and they were highly debased and crudely struck.[43] The political disintegration caused by the downfall of the Gupta empire also led many feudatories and viceroys under the Gupta suzerainty to declare independence and issue their own currency, generally restricted their circulation to their respective dominions. The types of these imitation Gupta coins thus varied from place to place. Thus we see, the Śarabhapurīyans and the Nala rulers issued their respective coinage after the downfall of the Imperial Guptas, though the idea of the coin device was adopted from the local numismatic tradition and their respective religious faiths. Not only the Gupta culture but the Vākāṭakas also seem to have influenced the Śarabhapurīyans to adopt their name sakes ending with *Āditya* and Narendra, Pravara, etc. It is likely to think that since Narendra had a feudatory status under some later Gupta ruler, he did not issue any coin in his name like his successors Mahendrāditya, Kramāditya and Prasannamātra. The popularity of the name Kramāditya can also be noticed among the later Gupta rulers after Skandagupta who is the first known Gupta monarch to assume this name. The *Āditya*-ending names probably were the coronation names assumed by the Gupta monarchs indicating sovereign status. The gold coins of Kumāragupta II show that he had the name Kramāditya.[44] Likewise, an alleged coin of Ghaṭotkachagupta shows that he also assumed the coronation name of Kramāditya.[45] But all these coins of the successors of Skandagupta-Kramāditya are known to be of usual Gupta types having devices and legend on both sides. Thus the theory of attributing the repousse coins of Kramāditya to Skandagupta in view of the above fact, does not prove conclusive. Following the practice obtained among the latter Guptas, the Vākāṭakas, it is not strange that the early members of the Śarabhapura family and also other royal families of this region assumed names ending with *Āditya* indicative of sovereign status.[46]

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43. *JASB*, (NS) No. XXXIX, 1925, pp. 1, N-6 N.; Allan, *NC*, Fifth Series, Vol. XIV, p. 7; Majumdar, *Hist. of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 667; *Indian Culture*, Vol. IV, pp. 222-227.
44. A. S. Altekar, *Catalogue of Gupta Gold Coins in the Bayana Hoard*, p. 311 and Plate XXXII, No. 6.
45. *Ibid*, p. 311.
46. Similarly the *Gupta*-ending names seem to be very much popular among the rulers of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs, the Somavaṁśīs of South Kosala in the subsequent period. cf. Harshagupta, Bhavagupta, Śivagupta, etc.

It is believed by some scholars that the coins of the Śarabhapurīya rulers as well as those of the Nala kings were issued as tokens or largess money "like the Nisor coins of the Muhammadan emperors" as they do not belong to the usual type.[47] According to them, these coins were not meant for real commercial transactions, as they are thin, tiny pieces peculiarly struck in repousse process.[48] But this view now seems to be untenable on the ground that apart from the already recorded coins of Mahendrāditya and Prasannamātra which are quite large in number, and the three rulers of the Nala dynasty, the repousse type coins of several other rulers like Kramāditya, apparently belonging to the Śarabhapura line and those of Nandanarāja and Stambha probably of the Nala dynasty have come to light as known from the above discussion. These prototypes, atleast on typological consideration, may be taken as currency of the period when the Śarabhapurīyas and the Nalas held sway over South-Kosala. The uniformity of weight standard and fabric of the coins of the Nalas and the Śarabhapurīyas also indicate that they were used as currency of their respective kingdoms. It may be pointed out here that the seals on the copper plate charters of the Śarabhapurīyan rulers were like the Garuḍa type coins of this family, divided into two parts, the upper part having a Garuḍa or Gajalakshmī and the lower part consisting of the legend written in verse. A. S. Altekar observed, "the idea of the division of the field into two such parts may have occurred independently to the Guptas and the rulers of South Kosala[49]." It is now an well-known fact that during the early and medieval period in India, gold coins were mainly used in large scale commercial transactions as well as in foreign trade. At the same time for their high purchasing power, they were used as largess money by the ruling authorities. For their high metallic value also, people used to hoard the gold coins for future exegencies. It was also an usual practice of the people from very ancient times to use gold coins of different rulers of different periods, as ornaments, necklace, talisman, pendants or bracelets. We have several instances of using different gold coins as necklace in Orissa.[50] Thus there is nothing unusual in the finds of Prasannamātra's coins along with a coin of Vishṇugupta of the later Gupta family, in the form of ornament in Cuttack district. This find cannot be taken as evidence for any political expansion by the Śarabhapurīyans or the later Guptas. Nor this find be taken as indicative of the coinage of this area in the absence of any other corroborative evidence. Similarly, the Chanda district find of Śarabhapurīya coins cannot be taken as a positive evidence of territorial expansion by this dynasty but a stray find, as gold coins are extremely migratory through trade and travel. The coins in ornament form in Cuttack district possibly formed a part of the private

47. *JNSI*, Vol. XII, pp. 8-10; D. C. Sircar (Ed.) *Early Indian Indigenous Coins*, p. 70.
48. *Ibid.*
49. *JNSI*, Vol. X, Part II, pp. 140ff.
50. *New Aspects of History of Orissa*, Vol. III, pp. 32-39.

property of a rich person and not indicative of their circulation as currency in this region of Orissa. During early medieval period, the rulers in the coastal regions as well as in other parts of Orissa did not seem to have issued any gold coins of their own. The traders used copper coins of the Kushāṇas and their imitation types in commercial transactions which were in circulation for considerably a long period as observed in the previous chapters. Apart from these copper coins, the silver punch-marked coins continued to be in use during this and in the subsequent period as evidenced from several early medieval inscriptions. We do not come across any reference to gold coins as currency in the epigraphical records of the period under discussion in the coastal regions of Orissa. It seems that probably the so-called repousse coinage of Prasannamātra and other rulers of Śarabhapura discussed above were mainly confined to the region of South Kosala which also comprised a part of Western Orissa and occasionally came outside their dominion to other parts of Orissa or Madhya Pradesh through trade or travel. Similar is the case with the Nala gold coinage which are found in association with the coins of Mahendrāditya as stated earlier. In the absence of other corroborative evidences it is difficult to say whether the circulation of these coins was limited to a short period or like the silver punch-marked coinage they continued to be in circulation for a long period. It is true that in the case of gold and silver coins, metallic value of the coins was considered more important than their face value by the traders as well as the common people as they were much useful to meet the necessities of life for which they were hoarded from time to time for future use.

CHAPTER SIX

COPPER COINS OF SRI-NANDA

The village Gaṇḍiberh (locally pronounced as Gaṇḍibeḍha) is situated under Khaira Police Station at a distance of about eleven miles to the south-west of Soro railway station in the Balasore district of Orissa. Recent archaeological survey of the village and its adjoining areas have yielded huge materials of great historical interest. A small village called Nandor which is situated very close to Gaṇḍiberh has also yielded sculptural remains, now heaped in front of a Śiva temple at Gaṇḍiberh. A large number of inscribed and uninscribed stone sculptures belonging to about 10th-11th centuries A.D. have now been shifted to the State Museum at Bhubaneswar[1] and to the district museum at Balasore. Apart from these sculptural remains, copper plate inscriptions of about 7th century A.D., of Mahārāja Śambhuyaśa[2], Bhānudatta[3], Somadatta[4] were discovered earlier from Soro, not very far from this village.

A hoard of 147 copper coins were unearthed at the above village from a mound. The coins were kept in a small pot and discovered by a farmer of that village. In 1952 they were collected by S. N. Rajaguru for preservation in the Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar.[5]

The size and weight of the coins widely vary from each other. Rajaguru has given the different sizes of the diameter of the coins as .70″ to .75″, .50″ to .55″, .65″ to .68″ and their weights as 2.5 grains, 1.9 grains, 1.62 grains and 1.46 grains and classifies them into several varieties on the basis of these various sizes and weights. There are also some coins each weighing 1 grain, although they are of the same type and size. This wide variation of weight and size between individual coins is due to the fact that they are cast coins, manufactured with the help of clay moulds like those of the so-called Puri-Kushāṇa or imitation Kushāṇa coins, extensively found in Orissa. Traces of molten metal around the coin flans are still found which have not been trimmed

1. *OHRJ*, Vol. II, No. 2, pp. 21-22 ff. An inscribed image of Sūrya of the time of the Somavaṁśīs of Orissa, one image supposed to be of the Jaina ascetic Kumārasena bearing the earliest inscription in Oriya language and in Kuṭila scripts of about 10th century are some of the important collections from Gaṇḍiberh.
2. *EI*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 197-203 ; *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 117-119.
3. *Ibid*, pp 20?-04 ff ; *Ibid*, pp. 131-32 ff.
4. *Ibid*, pp. 202 ff ; *Ibid*, pp. 136-140 ff.
5. *OHRJ*, Vol. V, pp. 157-159 ff.

after their manufacture. Further the coins were jointly manufactured, four or more coins at a time, in a mould, as there are traces of the thin channels for the inflow of molten metal joining the coins at the edges are still visible. After the casting operations the coins were broken off from the end of the spoke and separated from each other. The clay moulds intended for casting these coins seem to .have been prepared in a crude, hand-made process. This is clear from the general fabric of the individual coins if observed minutely. The coin-sockets in these clay moulds were not always of uniformed size and thickness and hence there was no uniformity in the content of molten metal passing through the thin channels to these sockets. Probably, this was the reason for which the weight and size, also the thickness of individual coins differed from each other.

The obverse of these coins contains a couchant bull facing left inside a circle within the rounded flan and just below the bull, a straight line drawn horizontally. The reverse side bears the legend in one line in the box-headed scripts of the Central Indian alphabet, which reads *Śrī-Nanda* (*ra*) (Plate XLIX, Fig. 1). The last letter is not clearly visible. Rajaguru reads *Sunandasya* and also suggests that this may be read as *Śrī-Nanda*, although the medial ī of *Śrī* is not legible. He reads the last letter as *bu* and suggests that this may be a numerical symbol indicating an era or date. According to him, the era may denote either the *Buddha-Nirvana* era which started in 544 B.C. or *Mahāvīr-Nirvāṇa* era commenced in or about 527 B.C., "so that the minting time seems quite befitting". But he is also in doubt about the usage of these eras in Orissa and could not come to any satisfactory conclusion about the legend.

It is to be noted that the scripts used in the legend are the so-called box-headed type of the Central Indian alphabet, which were prevalent during 5th-7th centuries A.D. in Central India as well as in the Kosala region of Madhya Pradesh. The first letter is definitely *Śrī* and not *Su* as the conjunct *r* is clearly visible on some coins. The medial *ī* of *Śrī* is not visible on the coins due to want of space on the flan. Although the last letter is not clearly visible, it may be taken as *rā* and not *bu* as Rajaguru reads and took it as "Asokan type of letter". It may be suggested here that the letter was intended for *rā* or *na* which could not come out in its proper form after casting operations with the help of clay moulds. The letters have become very much blurred and hazy due to this defective mode of casting. We may thus read the legend as *Śrī-Nanda* (*rāja*) or *Śrī-Nanda* (*na*). This reading of the legend may also corroborate other evidences for the historicity of these coins, as we shall see below.

From the legend on the coins it is known that one Śrī-Nanda-rāja oa Śrī-Nandana was the issuer of these coins. Rajaguru identifies him with a king of Southern Orissa or Kaliṅga named Nandaprabhañjanavarman of the Māṭhara dynasty of Kaliṅga. But the characters used in the coins definitely belong to an earlier period than the time of Nandaprabhanjañavarman. Further it should be noted

that the type of letters used in the Māṭhara inscriptions and the present coins are altogether different. It is also difficult to agree with Rajaguru that the issuer of the coins Śrī-Nanda was the same person as Nandaprabhañjanavarman of the Māṭhara dynasty of Kaliṅga ruling from Siṁhapura, as we have no evidence to show that the Māṭharas of Kaliṅga ever held sway over the territories lying to the north of the river Mahānadī. The bull symbol on the coins also do not support Rajguru's view, as the Māṭharas were devotees of Vishṇu. He also finds similarity of writings of the Taṇḍivāḍa grant of Pṛithivī-Mahārāja[6] with those on the present coins. But this is completely wrong on the ground that the characters employed in the charter of Pṛithivī-Mahārāja ruling from Pishṭapura in South Kaliṅga, belong to the Kaliṅga scripts of the Southern variety and do not have any similarity with those on the coins of Śrī-Nanda. He further argues that the name of the village Nanduru[7] which is very near to the findspot of these coins, may be taken as a derivation from Dravidian language (*Nanda-uru*), the meaning of which is the "village of Nanda", who had this region within his kingdom. This argument is also equally hypothetical.

N. K. Sahu identifies king Nanda of our coins with a king of the Māna family and a predecessor of Mahārāja Śambhūyaśa[8] on the basis of the discovery of the coins in a locality which comprised within the dominion of the Māna family. But this suggestion is also based on mere conjecture as no inscription in box-headed characters of the Māna family is available so far, to corroborate this supposition.

Six copper coins of the same type as the present coins under discussion were published long back by T.N. Ramachandran.[9] They were in the collection of S. Sreenivasachari of Madras as stated by him and their provinance is also not known. The coins illustrated by him show exactly the same as the coins of Śrī-Nanda and the legend on them, reads, in fact, the same as on the present coins, Ramachandran, and following him, others[10] have attributed these coins to Chaṇḍavarman of the Sālaṅkāyana dynasty. Ramachandran has read the legend on the coin as *Śrī-Chaṇḍava* or *Śrī-Chaṇḍa*, and restored the name as *Śrī-Chaṇḍavarman*. According to him, the palaeography of the legend agrees perfectly with the palaeography of the Sālaṅkāyana epigraphs. But this suggestion is doubtful, as the palaeography of the Sālaṅkāyana epigraphs belong to the box-headed characters of the Southern variety and do not at all tally with those found on these coins. Further the

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6. *EI*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 88-99.
7. The name of the village is actually Nandor which Rajguru wrongly puts as Nanduru.
8. *UUHO*, Vol. I, p. 521.
9. B. C. Law (Ed.), D. R. Bhandarkar Volume, pp. 213ff.
10. B. D. Chattopadhyaya, *Coins and Currency Systems in South India*, pp. 9-11 and Plate I, No. 7.

photograph accompanying the article of Ramachandran clearly shows the legend written as *Śrī-Nanda* and not *Śrī-Chaṇḍa* exactly the same as on the present coins under discussion. Besides, the unknown provenance of these coins also do not convince us as to their attribution to the Sālaṅkāyanas, as another type of copper coins, with standing bull on the obverse and a legend in Brāhmī reading *Śrī-Chaṇḍava*[11] discovered in Andhra have allegedly been attributed to them.

It is to be noted here that the box-headed type of letters were exclusively prevalent in the Kosala region, and Koraput and Kalahandi districts in Orissa during 5th and 6th centuries A.D. we have inscriptions in this type of scripts belonging to the Nala dynasty ruling in southern part of the Central Provinces, Berar including the Bastar region and the north-western part of Koraput district in Orissa, during the early part of 6th century A.D. The rulers of Śarabhapura used the same type of scripts who had their territory in the Kosala region, i.e., the modern Chhatisgarh division in Madhya Pradesh, north-western part of Kalahandi district in Orissa during 5th-6th centuries A.D. Large number of repousse type gold coins of the Nalas[12], the Śarabhapurīyan kings[13] and coins of other unknown ruling families[14] in Bastar, Raipur and Durg districts of the ancient Kosala region of Madhya Pradesh and Khariar, Kalahandi and even in the Cuttack district of Orissa. All these coins are of thin repousse type gold pieces. Two new kings of unknown dynasties are now known only from their repousse type gold coins discovered in the Durg district of Madhya Pradesh.[15] They are Śrī-Stambha and Śrī-Nandanarāja. The so-called box-headed type of scripts have been used in the legends of the coins of both the issuers like those of the Nala and Śarabhapurīyan coins.

There is a striking similarity between the gold coins of the Nala kings and those of Śrī-Nandanarāja. Śrī-Stambha as well as the present copper coins of Śrī-Nanda. All these coins bear the device of couchant bull with the name of the issuer in the box-headed characters. The coin of Śrī-Nandanarāja contains a couchant bull to the left within the dotted flan, a crescent in front of the bull and four dots above the bull in the upper half portion ; above the two horizontal lines and below the lines is the *Śrī-Nandanarāja* in one line. The coin is single-die repousse type in gold. It is interesting to note that the scripts and the bull device in both the gold coin of Śrī-Nandanarāja and the copper coins of Śrī-Nanda of our discussion are very much similar to each other. The reason for the double-die system adopted in the copper coins of Śrī-Nanda, may be due to their small size.

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11. *JNSI*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 42-43, Plate 2, 1-2 ; The correct reading of the legend has been suggested by B. D. Chattopadhyaya as *Siri-Chaṇḍava*, Cf. *Coins and Currency Systems in South India*, p. 10.
12. *Cf. JNSI*, Vol. I, pp. 29 ff ; Vol. XL, pp. 108 ff ; see also Chapter V.
13. See Chapter V.
14. *Cf. JNSI*, Vol. XL, pp. 108 ff. and plate.
15. *Ibid*, pp. 109 ff.

The coins of Śrī-Stambha is also of similar type as that of the gold coin of Śrī-Nandanarāja, while a little smaller in size.

Reference may be made in this context to a recently discovered copper plate grant issued by one Nandarājadeva of an unknown dynasty, whose capital was at Parvatadvāra.[16] It was unearthed from the village Baraḍipaḍā in the district of Kalahandi. Although no specific date is mentioned in the charter it can be safely assigned to about 6th century A.D. on palaeographical ground. The scripts used in this record have close similarities with those on the Sumandala copper plate grant of the time of Pṛithivīvigraha-bhaṭṭāraka of the Gupta year 250[17] and may be called post-Gupta scripts of Northern variety. There is a place name called Chikkhalikā mentioned in this record which may be the same as Chikhali of the Kanker Plate of Pamparājadeva[18] and has been identified with its namesake situated at a distance of about 20 miles from Kanker, now in the Dhamtari Tahsil in the Chhatisgarh division of Madhya Pradesh. If this is accepted, it may indicate that Nandarāja of our copper plate grant had an extensive territory which comprised of the eastern part of the Chhatisgarh region in M.P. as well as its contiguous western part of the Kalahandi district in Orissa.

The copper plate grant of Tushṭikāra[19] discovered in the same Kalahandi district is also highly significant in this context. This charter was also issued from Parvatadvāra. The style of writing of the draft of both these charters seem to have some similarity and both the donors mention thein capital of their respective kingdom as Parvatadvāraka or Parvatadvāra. One interesting thing to be noted regarding the grant issued by Tushṭikāra is that both the "box-headed" variety as well as the "nailheaded" variety of Kaliṅga scripts have been used in the writings. This indicates both type of scripts were in use side by side, at the same epoch, during 6th-7th centuries A.D. in the region under discussion.

At the present state of our knowledge, it is difficult to determine the relationship of Nandarājadeva of the above copper plate grant, Śrī-Nandanarāja of the gold coin and Śrī-Nanda of our coins. But, in all probability, Śrī-Nanda seems to belong to the area of Chhatisgarh and Bastar in Madhya Pradesh and western part of Kalahandi in Orissa. It is to be noted that except the single hoard of Śrī-Nanda coins, we have no evidence to show that box-headed scripts were in use in the coastal region of Balasore. Apart from scripts, the bull symbol on these coins seem to have been very much influenced by the coins of the Nalas, Śrī-Nandanarāja and Śrī-Stambha of this region, already discussed above. It can

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16. A Joshi, *New Light on the Cultural Heritage of Orissa*, pp. 34-35 ff. The copper plate is now preserved in the Orissa State Museum.
17. *OHRJ*, Vol. I, pp. 66-69 ; *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 79-85.
18. *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 166-177 ff.
19. *JKHRS*, Vol, II, pp. 107-110 ff ; *EI*, Vol. XXX, pp. 274-78ff.

only be surmised that Śrī-Nandanarāja of the gold coin and Śrī-Nandarāja of the copper plate grant as well as of the present coins were one and the same person. As we have seen earlier that Nandarājadeva of our grant ruled an extensive territory in the Kosala region, it is not unlikely that gold and copper coins were issued in his name like the rulers of other dynasties (the Nalas, the Śarabhapurīyans, etc.) of Kosala region. Unfortunately, we have not yet come across any copper coin of Śrī-Nanda of the present type in the Kosala region. However, a final answer to the question of attribution of these copper coins await future numismatic and epigraphical discoveries in this region. In any case, it may be noted here that the early specimens of copper coins prevalent in Central India, especially the copper coins of Rāmagupta[20] have a distinct influence on these coins, so far as the style of execution of the obverse coin-device and the legend on the reverse are concerned.

Gold coins were used mainly in bigger commercial transactions or as largess money due to their high intrinsic value. But the fact that copper coins also greatly served in trade and commerce, is evidenced from the find of the copper coins of Śrī-Nanda. It is through commercial transactions that the coins might have been carried by merchants to the coastal region of Balasore which was in ancient period known as Utkala and during 6th-7th centuries A.D., as the part of Uttara-Tosali. The discovery of the coins of Śrī-Nanda in a distant land far from his kingdom undoubtedly suggests the contacts between Kosala and Uttara-Tosali during 6th century A.D. This also indicates that like gold and silver, copper coins also travel long in course of trade and commerce and does by no means suggest any territorial expansion by the issuer of the coins.

There is a place called Nandur situated in the Yeotmal Taluka of Madhya Pradesh. This has been identified with Nandivardhana, the capital of the Nalas of Bastar and Koraput by Y. R. Gupta, instead of Nagardhan in the Nagpur district of Maharashtra[21] by Hiralal. We may suggest that Nandur is a derivation from Sanskrit Nandapura and might owe its very name to Nandarājadeva.

Another place called Raj Nandgaon in the Durg district of Madhya Pradesh may also induce us to take it as named after Śrī-Nandarājadeva.

20. *JNSI*, Vol. XII, pp. 103-111 and Plate; Vol. XIII, pp. 128-30.
21. *EI*, Vol. XIX, p. 162.

CHAPTER SEVEN

COINS OF THE KALACHURIS IN ORISSA

The Kalachuris, also known as the Haihayas, several branches of which were associated with the territories of the western part of Orissa, were an ancient race. One of their branches ruled over the country of Ḍāhala with their capital at Tripuri or modern Tewar in Madhya Pradesh, situated at a distance of about six miles west of Jabbalpore.[1] They rose into prominence with the accession of Kokkalla I to the throne of Ḍāhala in about 842-45 A.D. Other powerful rulers, responsible for bringing glory to the family and the expansion of the Kalachuri kingdom were Śaṅkaragaṇa, Yuvarāja I, Lakshmaṇarāja, Gāṅgeyadeva and Karṇa. The location of the kingdom of Ḍāhala has been determined by the historians to be the area to the west of the Somavaṁśī kingdom of South Kosala (i.e., the Chhattisgarh division of Madhya Pradesh and Bolangir district of Orissa) and comprised the area around Jabbalpore in Madhya Pradesh.

It is known from the epigraphical records that from the time of Śaṅkaragaṇa (C. A.D. 880-910) the Kalachuris and their contemporaries, the Somavaṁśīs, very often came into conflict with each other, being neighbours, for expansion of their respective territories. The bone of contention between them was the South Kosala region occupied by the Somavaṁśīs, Śaṅkaragaṇa and his son Yuvarāja I were unsuccessful in their attempts to encroach upon the territories of the Orissan kingdom, and probably defeated by their respective Somavaṁśī contemporaries, Janamejaya I and Yayāti I. But during the rule of Lakshmaṇarāja, son and successor of Yuvarāja I, the Kalachuris were successful in defeating the Somavaṁśī king as revealed by the Bilhari stone inscription.[2] It refers to an image of *Kālīya* which was captured by the above Kalachuri king from the prince of Oḍra after defeating the king of Kosala. Probably, his contemporary ruler in Kosala, was Mahābhavagupta Bhīmaratha (C. A.D. 955-970). Since Oḍra was a territorial unit included under Somavaṁśī administration, the defeat of Bhīmaratha naturally led to its submission to the Kalachuris.

The Kalachuri power acquired further prestige during the rule of Gāṅgeyadeva (C. A.D. 1019-1038), who is known from his coinage as well as several

1. For a detailed discussion on their history, see *HCIP*, Vol. V, pp. 61-64 and *CII*, Vol. IV, Part I, pp. LXVII-CVIII.
2. *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 251-70ff.

epigraphical records. He allied himself with two other great powers of contemporary India, the Cholas and the Paramāras[3] and likely to have attacked and occupied a part of Orissa during the rule of Somavaṁśī Indraratha which is attested to by the Brahmeśvara temple inscription.[4]

After Gāṅgeyadeva, his son Karṇa (C. 1041-73 A.D.) is credited to heve won victories over the kings of Oḍra and Kaliṅga.[5] He is also known to have assumed the title of *Trikaliṅgādhipati* like those of the Somavaṁśīs of Orissa. His adversary in Kaliṅga was the Gaṅga king Vajrahasta V and in Oḍra was perhaps the Somavaṁśī Udyotakeśarī or his son Janamejaya II.

Not only the Kalachuris of Tripuri, but another branch of this dynasty was also closely associated with the political history of Orissa during 11th century. Kaliṅgarāja, a scion of the Kalachuri family of Ḍāhala, during this period had established the rule of the Kalachuris with his capital at Tummāṇa, the present village of Tumana in the ex-zamindari of Lapha in Bilaspur district of Madhya Pradesh. This branch of the family is also known from their epigraphs to have had traditional hostility with the rulers of Orissa, viz. the Somavaṁśīs, the Imperial Gaṅgas and other rulers in the Sambalpur-Bolangir tract, Kamalarāja (C. A.D. 1020-45), son of Kaliṅgarāja is known from the inscription of his successors,[6] to be a contemporary as well as a subordinate ruler of Gāṅgeyadeva of Tripuri, who defeated the king of Utkala, probably the Somavaṁśī king Indraratha, on behalf of his overlord. Thus, it appears, the Kalachuri family with its several branches had established its strongholds over different parts of South Kosala, contiguous on the Orissan kingdom and came into conflict with them frequently.

The Kalachuris of Tummāṇa who claimed descent from Kokkalla I of Tripuri had another headquarters at Ratnapura wherefrom several of their charters have been issued and for which, these rulers are also known as the Kalachuris of Ratnapura. It was evidently named after one of the rulers of this dynasty who presumably founded the city, and which has been identified with the present town of Ratanpur, situated at a distance of 16 miles north of Bilaspur in Madhya Pradesh. There were as many as twelve kings in this branch of the Kalachuris as known from their epigraphical records and coins issued by them. Kaliṅgarāja is the first known king of this branch and known to have succeeded by his son Kamala-

3. *HCIP*, Vol. V, p. 212 ; S. R. Nema, *PHSSKO*, p. 221.
4. *JRASB*, Vol. XIII, pp. 63-73ff and Plate.
5. *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 139ff.
6. *EI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 75ff. For political history of this branch of the Kalachuris see, *CII*, Vol. IV, Part I, pp. CXV-CXXXIII , *HCIP*, Vol. V, pp. 64-66.

rāja who, as stated earlier was contemporary of Gāṅgeyadeva of Tripuri and ruled as a feudatory under him. Kamalarāja was succeeded by his son Ratnarāja who is known to be Ratnarāja or Ratnadeva I (C. 1045 A.D.) and is credited to have founded the new city of Ratnapura and shifted the seat of government from Tummāṇa to Ratnapura. He is also known to have acknowledged the suzerainty of the Kalachuris of Ḍāhala. His son Pṛithvīdeva (C. 1065 A.D.), known to be Pṛithvīdeva I, was also a subordinate feudatory ruler under the Kalachuris of Ḍāhala, as known from his own inscription,[7] wherein he has been described as a *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* and obtained *Pañcha-mahāśavda* indicating his subordinate status. He has also used the Kalachuri era in his grants which he calls the era of the lord of the Chedis. This, too, indicates his subordinate position. It seems from their records that during the reign of all the rulers of this branch mentioned above, the kingdom of Tummāṇa was very much circumscribed. It was Jājalladeva I (C. 1090-1120 A.D.) son of Pṛithvīdeva I who is known to be one of the powerful king of this family, and assumed sovereign status by declaring independence against his overlord, the Kalachuri ruler, Yaśaḥkarṇa of Tripuri. He is known from the epigraphical records[8] to have subdued the neighbouring chiefs of Vairāgaḍa (present Vairagarh in Chanda district), Lāñjika, Bhāṇāra (correspond to the present Lanjika and Bhandara in Balaghat and Bhandara districts of Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra respectively). All these conquests of Jājalladeva I indicate the considerable expansion of the kingdom of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur which was very much circumscribed during the reigns of his predecessors. He is also known to have carried his arms as far as Daṇḍakapura (probably Daṇḍaka on the border of Seuṇadeśa in the South), Āndhra, Khimiḍi (Ganjam district in Orissa), Kosala (probably here refers to the Bolangir-Sonepur tract in Orissa, part of the Somavaṁśī kingdom), Nandāvalī and Kukkuṭa and forced the rulers of these kingdoms to pay him annual tribute. His conflict with the Chhindaka Nāga king, Someśvara I of Chakrakoṭṭa is well known from the epigraphs of both royal families, whom Jājalladeva defeated and took as captive. Someśvara I of Chakrakoṭṭa had occupied earlier, a portion of the Kalachuri kingdom (Lāñji and Ratnapura) defeated the rulers of Uḍra (Orissa), Veṅgi, captured six lacs ninetysix thousand villages of Kosala, assumed the imperial titles of *Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara* and issued gold coins in his name.[9] But Jājalladeva's accession to the throne of Ratanpur checked his policy of expansion. The Kalachuri king is also credited to have defeated Bhujavala, chief of Suvarṇapura or the present Sonepur in Bolangir district, who was evidently the Telugu-Choḍa chief perhaps Someśvara I or II, who occupied

7. *CII*, Vol. IV, Part II, pp. 401-08ff., No. 76.
8. *CII*, Vol. IV, Part I, p. CXXIV.
9. See below Chapter VIII.

Sonepur from the Somavaṁśis of South Kosala and acknowledged the supremacy of the Chhindaka Nāgas of Chakrakoṭṭa.

Since the time of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga, the Imperial Gaṅgas, after conquering Utkala from the Somavaṁśīs were trying to reoccupy the lost territories of their predecessors in South Kosala. This rasulted in the conflict with the Kalachuris of Ratanpur. Choḍagaṅga invaded the Kalachuri kingdom, probably in retaliation of Jājalladeva's attack, during the rule of his son Ratnadeva II who effectively checked the invasion. Pṛithvīdeva II, son of Ratnadeva II, also repulsed an attack by Jaṭeśvara, son of Choḍagaṅga, sometime during 1140 A.D.[10] The conflict between the Gaṅgas and the Kalachuris probably came to an end during Anaṅgabhīma III, whose daughter Chandrikādevī was given in marriage to a Kalachuri prince named Paramārdideva.[11]

From the above historical background it is revealed that the Kalachuris of both the branches in Central Provinces were politically connected with Orissa. Several discoveries of their gold and copper coinage in Orissa would also reveal economic relationship during their times and the subsequent period. Among the Kalachuri rulers of Tripuri, the gold, silver and copper coins of only Gāṅgeyadeva are known to have been discovered.[12] In Orissa also, a few gold coins of Gāṅgeyadeva have come to the notice of the scholars. A hoard of thirteen fragmentary pieces[13] of the gold coins of Gāṅgeyadeva is reported to have been discovered, some where within the Padmapur Police Station in Sambalpur district in 1964, which are now preserved in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar. These pieces are stated to have been unearthed along with some broken pieces of wire made of gold, presumably intended to prepare ornaments. The fragmentary or cut pieces of the coins when joined together for examination, reveal the name of Gāṅgeyadeva, whose coins of the same type have abundantly been found in the eastern districts of Madhya Pradesh. They show on the obverse the name of the issuer, written

10. *CII*, Vol. IV, Part I, pp. CXXVI-CXXVIII.
11. *EI*, Vol. VIII, pp, 150-155; Majumdar, *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 202 and Note 3.
12. For the coins of Gāṅgeyadeva discovered from M.P. and U.P. see, *CII*, Vol. IV, Part I, p. CLXXXIV and plate; R. K. Sharma, *The Kalachuris and Their Times*, pp. 282ff.
13. *OHRJ*, Vol. XVI, Nos. 1 & 2, pp. 37ff. A big hoard of gold and silver coins of Gāṅgeyadeva and perhaps other rulers of Ratanpur branch of the Kalachuri dynasty are said to have been discovered near Patnagarh in Bolangir district in Orissa, Unfortunately they are said to have been melted down by the finders as soon as they were unearthed. Only a few of the smaller gold coins of Gāṅgeyadeva are now in the Sambalpur University Museum. I am thankful for the information to D. Pradhan, of Orissa State Archaeology, Bhubaneswar.

in the *Nāgarī* scripts which were prevalent during 10th-11th century A.D. in Central Provinces. The legend, covering whole of the obverse side, as is usually found in his coins found in various parts of Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh, reads *Śrīmad-Gāṅgeyadeva* in three lines. The reverse shows, as usual, the well-known figure of the seated goddess, generally identified with Lakshmī. The goddess is seated cross-legged, four-handed with lotuses in her two upper hands. The average percentage of pure gold in the coins of Gāṅgeyadeva is about 75.0% as known from the coins discovered in Orissa. Though some silver and gold coins of different denominations are known to have been discovered in other parts of Madhya Pradesh, they are not yet known in Orissa. Small denominations in silver, popularly known as quarter *dramma* pieces of Gāṅgeyadeva are known to have been discovered on the surface of the Rampart mound at Hathiagad at Tripuri.[14] The present cut pieces of his gold coins appear to be his usual type issues weighing 60 grains found all over his kingdom. Their discovery in the form of cut pieces would suggest that though these coins entered into Orissa territory of the Somavaṁśīs either carried by the army of Gāṅgeyadeva or through commercial transactions, they were intended for hoarding to turn into ornaments. They would also suggest that they were not meant for circulation as currency, but due to the valuable metal content in them they were hoarded to solve both the purposes of money as well as a fine media of exchange.

The reverse device i.e., the seated-goddess type of Gāṅgeyadeva's gold coins reveals the distinct influence of the Gupta gold coinage, which seems to have continued since a pretty long time in Central Indian kingdoms. In fact, the gold coins issued by the rulers of different dynasties after the downfall of the Gupta empire adopted the Vaishṇavite symbols from the Imperial Gupta coinage which can very well be noticed in the gold repousse type coins of Mahendrāditya, Kramāditya, Prasannamātra and others. Gāṅgeyadeva's coin was also imitated by the Gāhaḍavāla family as known from the coinage of Govindachandra of this family.

The use type coins of Gāṅgeyadeva, weighing 60 grains, of which, the cut pieces have been found in Orissa, are generally taken by the numismatists as identical with the coin-term *dramma,* a coin of particular weight, which is well known in the early medieval epigraphical records as well as literature and which seems to be current all over northern India even upto the late medieval period. This term originated from the Greek word *drachma*, weighing 67.5 grains. Early medieval gold and silver coins seem to have adopted the weight standard of *drachma* and named after it, subject to the variations in the weight standard from region to region and period, and also on the metallic value of the coin. As the coins of Gāṅgeyadeva conform nearly to this Attic standard, it is

14, *JNSI*, Vol. XIX, p. 74 and Plate.

not unreasonable that they denoted the so-called *drammas* of the Kalachuri inscriptions. Both the gold and silver coins of this weight denoted *dramma* pieces as, sometimes gold coin is specifically mentioned in epigraphical records as *Kāñchana-dramma*[15] in order to distinguish it from *drammas* of other metals. That *dramma* denoted a measure of weight and the coins conforming to this weight were called by the same weight name, is also supported by several literary works such as *Dvyāśraya-Mahākāvya*[16] and the *Gaṇitasāra*[17] where the relation between the *dramma* and the *rūpaka* (silver coin) has been dealt with, i.e., five *rūpaka* made one *dramma*. In Bhāskarāchārya's *Līlāvati*, also, it is mentioned that 16 *paṇas* made one *dramma* and 16 *drammas* made one *nishka*,[18] although the weights of these coins are not mentioned, it seems Bhāskarāchārya had referred to the gold and silver coins of his times. Sub-divisions of Gāṅgeyadeva's coins which are known to have been found in Madhya Pradesh may be taken as ½ and ¼ *drammas*. Moreover, the *dramma* coins of this king have also been found in various sizes,[19] though the weights of these pieces remain the same as those of his usual *dramma* coins. Some of them are thick and small in size, which have been suggested to be the posthumous issues by Karṇa, son of Gāṅgeyadeva.[20] The finds of thin and broad coins of large and middle size with the same weight standard, the availability of various sizes of his *drammas* cannot be taken as the posthumous issues. Copper coins of Gāṅgeyadeva weighing nearly 60 grains, and a silver coin weighing 4 grains representing 1/16th of a *dramma* with similar obverse and reverse devices as his gold coins are known to have been found.[21] This would suggest that Gāṅgeyadeva had introduced a well-organized currency system in his kingdom. His coins were also termed as *ṭaṅkakas*, probably denoting his silver coins, as revealed by several Kalachuri records which V. V. Mirashi has taken to be his gold issues.[22] Sometimes, it is known from the epigraphical records that the coin-names like *ṭaṅka*, *dramma* with identical weight standard were used as the common numismatic term for coined money.

The Kalachuris of the Ratanpur branch, after their independence from the main line of Tripuri, also issued their own coinage in the names of the respective rulers of the family and followed an identical weight standard for the gold and silver coinage with those of Gāṅgeyadeva. They had also their own

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15. *JNSI*, Vol. XVII, Part II, p. 77.
16. Ed. by A. V. Kathavate, Bombay, 1915, Vol. I, p. 388.
17. *JNSI*, Vol. VIII, Part II, p. 144.
18. *JNSI*, Vol. XVII, Part II, p. 77.
19. *Num. Suppl.* No. XVII ; *JASB*, for 1912, p. 123.
20. *NS*, No. XVII ; *JASB*, 1912, p. 123.
21. R. K. Sharma, *Op.Cit.*, p. 283 ; *JNSI*, Vol. XIX, Part I, p. 74.
22. *CII*, Vol. IV, Part I, p. CLXXXIV.

gold, silver and copper currency for their kingdom as known from several discoveries in the Chhattisgarh division of Madhya Pradesh as well as in various parts of Orissa. Researches on their coinage were started since 1836 and since then many new discoveries have been made.[23] But the problem of their attributions to the different homonymous rulers of this dynasty has remained still unsolved, in spite of incessant efforts of the scholars. The discoveries of these coins include coins of Jājalladeva, Pṛithvīdeva, Ratnadeva and Pratāpamalla. The gold and silver coins of all these rulers except the last ruler, Pratāpamalla, are known to have been discovered so far. Only copper coins of Pratāpamalla, who is so far known to be the last independent ruler of the dynasty, have been discovered in several parts of the Chhattisgarh division of Madhya Pradesh.

In Orissa, particularly in the western part of the province, the coins of this dynasty have been found, considerably in good number. A collection of 27 debased gold coins of different rulers of this dynasty were collected for the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar in 1950-51 from the treasury of the old Sonepur State.[24] They are reported to have been discovered in the vicinity of Sonepur in Bolangir district of Orissa. The details of their discovery are not known. The collection contain 11 coins of Ratnadeva, 5 of Pṛithvīdeva and 11 of Jājalladeva, including four coins of small denomination belonging to Jājalladeva.

In 1952, a hoard of 10 gold (debased) coins of Ratnadeva and Pṛithvīdeva was unearthed at the village Ratanpur under Khurda sub-division of Puri District.[25] They were burried under the earth in a small earthen pot, which were deposited in the Khurda Sub-Treasury and subsequently brought to the Orissa State Museum for preservation.

In 1977, 22 copper coins of Ratnadeva and other rulers of his family,[26] were reported to have been recovered from a big hoard of gold, silver and copper coins unearthed at the village Kankeda near Budhikomna in Kalahandi district, while digging a canal. Unfortunately all these coins excepting the above 22 copper pieces were immediately disbursed by the finders. The recovered copper coins are now with J. P. Singh Deo of Khariar. Out of these two coins were sent to the Calcutta University, where they have been identified as the coins of Ratnadeva II, as reported by Mr. Singh Deo.

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23. For the discoveries of the coins of Kalachuri family, from M.P., see *CII*, Vol. IV, Part I, pp. CLXXXIV ff. and also R. K. Sharma, *The Kalachuris and Their Times*, p. 287 and Note 60.
24. *OHRJ*, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 36-40 ff.
25. *Ibid*, Vol. III, No. 2, pp. 115-117.
26. Information collected from Sri J. P. Singh Deo of Khariar, in Kalahandi district.

Besides the above discoveries there are reports of finds of the coins of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur in the Mahanadi valley. The Late P. Acharya is said to have examined some coins of this dynasty, kept with the then Rājā Sāheb of Baramba in Cuttack district.[27] In the coin cabinet of the Orissa State Museum, there are few more coins of these rulers, but their provenance is not recorded.

Recently in 1981, a copper coin of Pṛithvīdeva has been discovered at Mārāguḍā in the district of Kalahandi during excavations of the site undertaken by the Orissa State Archaeology at a depth of .30 cm.[28] The coin is of usual size as found in other finds in the various sites in Madhya Pradesh. But is much corroded. The obverse reads *Śrīmat-Pṛithvīdeva* in three lines but the reverse side of the coin has become very much mutilated due to the deposit of copper sulphate.

So far, the gold and a few copper coins of Pṛithvīdeva, Ratnadeva and Jājalladeva are known to have been discovered in Orissa. While the gold coins of these rulers have been dealt with by many scholars, the copper pieces, have not yet been properly identified. The obverse and reverse devices on the gold coins discovered in Orissa may be described as follows :

Coins of Jājalladeva

Obverse : Two lines legend within dotted border in *Nāgarī* charactars of 12th century reading :

(1) *Śrīmad-Ja*(*ā*)-
(2) *Jalladev* (*va*).

Reverse : The figure of a Lion, within dotted border, with its tail upraised, jumping on an elephant which is lying prostrate below. A small letter reading *ta* or on some coins *ma* is written below the mouth of the lion (Plate XLIX, Fig. 2, Nos. 1 and 2). This device is popularly known as *Gaja-śārdūla* (the lion over prostrate elephant) motif. The coins of Jājalladeva have been found in two denominations, one measuring 1.9 cm. in diameter with weight varying from 3.850 gms. to 3.860 gms. and even 3.739 gms. The other denominations measures 1.3 cm. and weights 0.955 gms. (Plate XLIX, Fig. 2, Nos. 7, 8, 9 and 10). The coins of smaller denominations contain the same obverse and reverse devices as described above of his usual size coins. They also contain individual letters of *ta* or *ma* on the reverse.

Coins of Ratnadeva

The usual size and weight of the gold coins of Ratnadeva are same as

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27. *OHRJ*, Vol. I, pp. 36 ff.
28. It is now with Sri B. K. Rath, Curator State Archaeology, Bhubaneswar. My thanks are due to him for showing me the coin for examination and study.

Jājalladeva's as described above. No smaller denominations of his coins are known yet in Orissa. The obverse of his coins contains in two lines the name of the issuer in *Nāgarī* charactars of the same type as Jājalladeva, reading :

(1) *Śrīmad-Ra-*

(2) *tnadeva,*

within dotted border. The reverse device is same as on the coins of Jājalladeva (Plate XLIX, Fig. 2, Nos. 3 and 4). A small letter resembling *ta* is seen on some of his coins.

Coins of Pṛithvīdeva

The coins of Pṛithvīdeva also resemble to those of the above issuers in fabric, size and weight. On the obverse only, the legend in two lines within dotted border reads :

(1) *Śrīmat-Pṛi-*

(2) *thvīdeva.*

The reverse device remains the same as on the coins of above two issuers. In these coins also a small letter resembles the *Nāgarī ta* or *ma* which occurs on the reverse, below the mouth of the lion (Plate XLIX, Fig. 2, Nos. 5 and 6).

The gold coins having the usual size of 1.9 cms., of all the above three rulers of the Kalachuri dynasty of Ratanpur or Tummāṇa conform to the weight and size of the usual size coins of Gāṅgeyadeva of Tripuri, which have been taken to be the *dramma* coins of epigraphical and literary sources. The smaller coins of Jājalladeva may be taken to be the quarter *drammas*, which are actually one-fourth of the usual size coins of Jājalladeva. Though the smaller denominations of Ratnadeva and Pṛithvīdeva in gold have not yet been discovered in Orissa, scholars have noticed their silver and copper coins, in other parts of the Chhattisgarh division.[29] Jājalladeva's coins in these metals are also known to have been discovered in this area.[30] The silver coins of Pṛithvīdeva contains the same legend on their obverse as his gold coins, but the reverse has the figure of a lion. His copper coins also contain the same legend on obverse, but the reverse has the figure of a monkey-god, or Hanumāna trampling a demon, and on some specimens, a flying four-armed Hanumāna or a Lion.[31] His silver pieces appear to be one-eighth pieces while the gold coins are found in the so-called *dramma* or quarter-*dramma* in size and weight. But the copper coins do not seem to conform to any weight standard and sometimes they exceed the weight of a *dramma*. The copper coins of Jājalladeva have two varieties of reverse devices, one having the figure of two-armed Hanumāna and the

29. *IHQ*, Vol. XIX, p. 283.

30. *CII*, Vol. IV, Part I, pp. CLXXXVI—CLXXXVI, and Plate.

31. The device of Hanumāna in the opinion of Mirashi was adopted by these Kalachuri princes from the Chandellas, who were politically allied to them.

other having a Lion; while the obverse is similar to his gold coins. Ratnadeva's copper coins have on the reverse, a Lion standing with an upraised tail and some pieces have a sheathed dagger with some indistinct object, possibly a blurred figure of a Lion, where as another variety shows a dagger, a crescent and a standing human figure.[32] The copper coins of Pratāpamalla, who is said to be the last king of the Kalachuri dynasty of Ratanpur, have on their reverse, a sheathed dagger with some indistinct object, perhaps a Lion. The sheathed dagger is also found on the royal seal attached to one of his copper plate grants.

The individual letters *ta* or *ma* on the reverse of the gold coins of Jājalladeva, Ratnadeva and Pṛithvīdeva, in the opinion of B. V. Nath, may be the initial letter representing the names of the mint cities of Tummāṇa and Malhar.[33] The practice of putting solitary letter on the coins, especially of the South Kosala region, seems to have continued from the earlier period. This practice was evidently borrowed from the gold coins of the later Guptas.[34]

Besides the gold, silver and copper coins of Jājalladeva, Ratnadeva and Pṛithvīdeva, also of Pratāpamalla, a number of copper coins of thin and broad in fabric, have been attributed by scholars to Kaliṅgarāja or Kamalarāja who are the earliest known Kalachuri rulers of Ratanpur, and feudatories under the main branch of Tripuri.[35] These coins are reported to have been discovered in a big hoard of copper coins numbering about 3900 pieces, at Dhanpur in Bilaspur district of Madhya Pradesh. B. C. Jain has read on their obverse, the *Nāgarī* legend as *Śrīmat* in the firstline, *Deva* in the second line and a letter before *Deva* as *ja* on the basis of which he concluded that the coins can be attributed to Kaliṅgarāja or Kamalarāja. Unfortunately, the illustrations given by Jain, do not show any clear picture of the legend in order to have a clear idea on its correct reading. The coins illustrated by him seem to be in a very much worn out condition and the legend on them are very much indistinct. It should be noted here that the royal status of these rulers of Ratanpur as revealed by the epigraphical records of Jājalladeva I and his suceessors, would not suggest that they had their own coinage. It is also revealed by their inscriptions that the kingdom of Ratanpur was much circumscribed during their reign. It was during Jājalladeva I, who is known to be the most powerful ruler of this dynasty and was first to declare independence against his overlord, the ruler of Tripuri, that the coinage of Ratanpur was introduced in his kingdom. The contemporary epigraphical records would support this view and suggest that he was powerful enough to issue coins in his name. Thus, it is not safe to conclude, on the basis of doubtful illustrations and in view of the above facts, that these copper coins

32. *JNSI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 112, Plate VIII.
33. *JNSI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 111.
34. See Chapter V.
35. *JNSI*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 111-112 and Plate VIII, Nos. 13-20. The find of the exact number of coins attributed to these rulers has not been mentioned.

belonged to Kaliṅgarāja or Kamalarāja. The absence of any other finds of such type of coins also suggest the same view. The reverse of these coins, as stated by Jain, contains the device of the so-called *Gaja-śārdūla* symbol. These coins most probably, belonged to Jājalladeva I, on whose gold coins, the above device is noticed for the first time.

There are also controversies among the numismatists on the problem of attribution of the gold, silver and copper coins of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur to Jājalladeva, Ratnadeva and Pṛithvīdeva, as we find in the genealogical list of this branch three rulers named Ratnadevas, two Pṛithvīdevas and two Jājalladevas. Hoernle ascribed the coins of Jājalladeva, Ratnadeva and Pṛithvīdeva to Jājalladeva I, Ratnadeva II and Pṛithvīdeva II.[36] Cunningham, on the other hand, is of the opinion that Pṛithvīdeva I, Jājalladeva I and Ratnadeva II issued these coins.[37] According to V. Smith, these coins were issued by Pṛithvīdeva II, Jājalladeva II and Ratnadeva II. But he has also doubt about the possibility of their being assigned to earlier homonymous kings.[38] V. V. Mirashi, after a thorough study of these coins as well as political history of this family,[39] has assigned them to Jājalladeva I, Ratnadeva II and Pṛithvīdeva II. According to him, the coins with the name Jājalladeva should be attributed to Jājalladeva I, in view of the fact that he was a powerful king whose suzerainty was acknowledged by a number of rulers of other different neighbouring kingdoms; honoured as an ally by the rulers of Kānyakubja and Jajabhukti, the Gāhaḍavāla and Chandella kings respectively; and he seems to be the first independent king of the Ratanpur branch of the Kalachuris. Moreover, the epigraphical records of his time and of his successors as well would reveal that he followed a policy of expansion and considerably expanded the boundary of his kingdom which was very much circumscribed during the reign of his predecessors. Mirashi's suggestion seems to carry conviction on this point. It is known from the Ratanpur stone inscription of his reign, as discussed earlier, that the rulers of South Kosala, Āndhra; Kimiḍi, Vairāgara, Lāñjika, Bhāṇāra, Talahāri, Daṇḍakapura, Nandāvalī and Kukkuṭa paid him tributes. He was honoured with presents of wealth, by the rulers of different royal families, stated earlier. His conflict with the Nāga king Someśvara I of Chakrakoṭa is well-known from the epigraphical records of both the Kalachuris and the Nāgas of Chakrakoṭa. It is interesting to note here that Someśvara I, who is credited in his inscriptions to have defeated the ruler of Uḍra (Oḍra), Veṅgi and had carried fire and sword into Lanji and Ratnapura, captured six lacs and ninety six thousand villages in Kosala and assumed the imperial titles of *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Parameśvara*, seems to have issued some debased gold coins

36. *PASB*, for 1898, p. 93.
37. Cunningham, *Coins of Medieval India*, p. 76.
38. *IMC*, pp. 254-55.
39. *CII*, Vol. IV, Part I, pp. CLXXXVIII-IX.

during his occupation of Kosala and Ratanpur, in the model of Jājalladeva's gold coins.[40] The fabric of the coins shows close similarity with those of Jājalladeva, only the devices on the reverse, having the dynastic emblems of the Nāgas, differ from Jājalladeva's *Gaja-śārdūla* motif. The obverse legend in *Nāgarī* characters resembling those on Jājalladeva's coins, reads the name of Someśvara. It is now well-known that, it is Jājalladeva I who defeated this king and made him a captive. It would also suggest that Someśvara I adopted the coin-fabric of Jājalladeva I, his contemporary and adversary. Scholars have tried to establish the theory that Jājalladeva II issued the coins on the ground that Jājalladeva I had "scarcely any time to look towards internal administration of his kingdom due to his constant engagement in various wars" and Ratnadeva II actually started the Ratanpur coinage.[41] Some scholars also suggest that the coins of Pṛithvīdeva were issued by Pṛithvīdeva I on the evidence of the discovery of some copper coins allegedly attributed to earlier rulers, namely, Kaliṅgarāja or Kamalarāja, as stated above, and hold that these earlier rulers issued coins, although they were in a feudatory status.[42] In their opinion, if Ratnadeva II could issue coins, though he assumed the feudatory title of *Mahārāṇaka* and the epithet like *Sakala-Kosala-maṇḍana-śrīḥ* there can be no objection to suggest that Pṛithvīdeva I who had the feudatory title of *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* and also the epithet *Sakala-Kosal-ādhipati*, had issued these gold coins. But the learned scholars have failed to notice the different political status held by these two rulers, which is revealed by contemporary epigraphical records and other historical sources. Mirashi has rightly observed that Pṛithvīdeva I was still in a feudatory status. It was during Jājalladeva I that this dynasty became completely independent. It should be noted here that an independent ruler could only issue his own coinage and the capacity to issue coinage was a symbol of high status. It seems, at least the gold coins of Jājalladeva I, Ratnadeva II and Pṛithvīdeva II were continued to be circulated by the homonymous rulers viz., Jājalladeva II and Ratnadeva III who succeeded them. These successors were not as powerful as their predecessors and during their reign there appear to have been external as well as internal disturbances which kept them busy in dealing with the enemies. Pratāpamalla, the last independent ruler of this dynasty is known to have issued only copper coins. As the kingdom was in a state of decline during his reign, and the economy also might have heavily affected due to constant warfare during the previous reigns and during his own time as well, it seems, he was not in a position to issue gold coins of his own like his great predecessors. It is to be noted here that, before the accession of Jājalladeva I, the coins of Gāṅgeyadeva of Tripuri were adopted as the coinage of Ratanpur as it is well known that Jājalladeva's predecessors had owed allegiance to the Kalachuris of Tripuri. Possibly this was

40. See Chapter VIII below.
41. *OHRJ*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 39.
42. R. K. Sharma, *The Kalachuris and Their Times*, p. 291.

the reason for which, the gold coinage of Ratanpur, has close similarity in size and weight with those of Gāṅgeyadeva's gold coins, only the reverse device and the legend have been changed in order to distinguish them from the Tripuri coinage. As regards the feudatory titles of the Ratanpur rulers, as pointed out by scholars, it may be noted here that there are numerous instances in medieval epigraphical records of different royal dynasties of copying the eulogies and epithets in the introductory part of the royal charters from predecessors' grants, and there was no distinction between the imperial and feudatory titles. Thus these feudatory titles cannot be taken into account to determine the actual issuer of the coins.

On the device of the "lion attacking elephant" or the so-called *Gaja-śārdūla* motif, scholars also have divergence of opinions. Mirashi is of the opinion that it was probably a symbol for the victory of the Kalachuris over the Gaṅgas of Orissa who were, according to him, known as *Gajapatis* or *Gajādhiśas*, (lords of elephants). But this suggestion does not seem to be convincing. The motif seems to have become very much popular among the artists and numerous *Gaja-śārdūla* figures are found carved in the Orissan temples of the Somavaṁśī period. Some Kalachuri temples, the Chausaṭh Yoginī temple at Bheraghat also bear this motif. Jājalladeva I seems to have first introduced it in the coinage of his family. Its significance in relation to the coinage of this dynasty, however, connot be exactly determined at the present state of our knowledge. It is unlike the coinages of other royal families of this region, who have adopted, in most of the cases, their dynastic crests as the reverse or obverse symbols. The Kalachuri coinage seems to be an exception to this. Gāṅgeyadeva's coins bear the figure of seated Lakshmī in imitation to the Gupta gold coinage, though the Kalachuris of Tripuri had adopted the Śaivite symbol on the seals attached to their copper plate charters. It may be pointed out here that the Kalachuris of Ratanpur also adopted *Gajalakshmī* motif on the seals of some of their charters, while they have been mentioned as devotees of Śiva. Thus the *Gaja-śārdūla* motif on their coinage seems to do nothing with their religious affiliation nor may be taken to be of their specific dynastic crest. B. V. Nath has suggested that the symbol was regarded as an auspicious symbol to represent wealth and power, value and strength.[43] It is possible to think that its beautiful execution on the temple walls, and other monuments, might have had fascinated the rulers as well as common people, for which it has been profusely sculptured in the temples of the medieval period. R. K. Sharma has rightly suggested that the motif is nothing but the representative expression of the epithet used in the epigraphs for the sons of Kokalla, *ashṭādaś-āri-kari-kumbha-Vibhaṅga-siṁhaḥ* [Eighteen very valiant (sons) like lions breaking open the frontal globes of elephanst].[44]

It has been discussed above that the Kalachuris of Tummāṇa or/and Ratanpur had traditional hostility with ruling dynasties of Orissa, viz. the Somavaṁśīs, the

43. *JNSI*, Vol. XVII, Part II, p. 63.
44, *CII*, Vol. IV, Part II, No. 76, Verse 6 ; No. 77, Verse 5 ; No. 83, Verse 5, etc.

Imperial Gaṅgas and other petty rulers of Sambalpur-Sonepur tract. From the time of Śaṅkaragaṇa and Gāṅgeyadeva of Tripuri and Kaliṅgarāja of Tummāṇa Orissan rulers came into conflict with the Kalachuris as revealed by their epigraphical records. It is, thus no wonder that the coinage of the Kalachuris found their way into Orissan dominions, at least through the army. There must have also been some trade relations with the Kalachuri kingdom, in some parts of western Orissa, the South Kosala region, which was the original home of the Somavaṁśīs, as is suggested by the frequent finds of gold coins of Jājalladeva I, Ratnadeva II and Pṛithvīdeva II in this region. If these gold coins of the Kalachuris suggest trade or the expansion of the Kalachuri Kingdom at least up to the border of Bolangir-Sonepur tract is by no means certain, but trade appears to be more likely. Of course, it is likely to think that with the expansion of the Kalachuri kingdom to this area, their coinage was introduced as currency at least for sometime in western Orissa, as the discovery of their copper coins would suggest. But stray finds of their gold coins in Puri and Cuttack districts would definitely indicate that they were carried by travellers in connection with commercial transaction as they had some definite intrinsic value. Unfortunately, most of these coins do not come to the notice of the scholarly world and directly go to the melting pot, as soon as they are found, due to the ignorance and indifferent attitude of the public.

The gold coins of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur also appear to be *dramma* pieces conforming to the weight standard of Gāṅgeyadeva's gold coins. But it is interesting to note that we do not come across the word *dramma* in their epigraphical records, though, very few of their inscriptions refer to the coin-names. It is also interesting to note that, though their coins have been found in a considerably good number in Orissa, epigraphical records here, are silent on these coins or coin names like *dramma*. The inscriptions of the Somavaṁśīs and their contemporaries in Orissa who were politically associated with the Kalachuris of Ratanpur and Tripuri, do not mention any such coin-name, which may relate to the Kalachuri coinage. On the other hand, most of the inscriptions of Orissa of this period mention *rūpya* or *rūpaka* denoting silver coins which were measured in *pala* weight standard.

CHAPTER EIGHT

COINS OF THE NAGAS OF CHAKRAKOTTA

A line of rulers, claiming Nāga lineage and known by the name Chhindakas, played an important role in the history of Orissa during the 11th century A.D. Their epigraphical records found in different parts of the ex-Bastar State of Madhya Pradesh reveal that the kingdom ruled by them was known as Chakrakoṭṭa (also called Chakrakuṭa, Chakrakoṭa, etc.).[1] Their capital was Bārāsura, identified by scholars with modern Barsur, situated at a distance of about 55 miles from Jagadalpur, the chief city of Bastar. They had the family crest of "tiger with cub" and carried the banner with an emblem of a snake. They belonged to the Kāśyapa-*gotra* and assumed the title of "the lord of Bhogavatīpura" (*Bhogavatīpura-vareśvara*). Bhogavatīpura was the mythical capital of the Nāgas or the Snake-demons who lived in Rasātala, the sub-terranean world. The name Chhindaka and the informations regarding their origin as recorded in the inscriptions of these rulers clearly point out that they had close relationship with the Sindas of Sindavāḍi in Kannaḍa country of about 8th century A.D. who also claim the Nāga lineage. Sindavāḍi comprised parts of northern Mysore, Bellary, Dharwar and Bijapur in Karnataka as evidenced from their records. The Sindas also claimed the hereditary royal title of "the lord of Bhogavatīpura, the best of cities".[2]

It is probably during the last part of 10th or early part of the 11th century A.D. that the Chhindaka Nāgas entered the Bastar region in the train of the expeditions led by the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa to eastern Chālukya kingdom of Veṅgi in their interference with the civil war that continued for a long period in which the Cholas were also associated. There was a bitter struggle for supremacy between the Cholas and the western Chālukyas over Veṅgi which continued for a long period. It seems that Telugu-Choḍas of Bastar and Sonepur region also migrated like those of the Chhindakas from Karnataka in the train of western Chālukya expeditions and acknowledged their supremacy. The southern origin of these rulers is also suggested by the personal names assumed by these rulers such as Dhārāvarsha, Someśvara etc., and also the style of writings in their epigraphical records. The inscriptions and the coins of the Chhindakas are found incised both in Nāgarī and Telugu-Kanarese characters.

There are both epigraphical and numismatic materials to suggest the Chhindaka-Nāga occupation of the Bastar region during the 11th century A.D. The

1. For the epigraphical records of the Chhindaka Nāgas see, Hiralal, *Inscriptions of C.P. and Berar*, pp. 158-66 ff.
2. *HCIP*, Vol. V, pp. 214 ff.

earliest known records of this family is known to have belonged to Nṛipatibhūshaṇa or Kshitibhūshaṇa dated in the Śaka year 945 corresponding to A.D. 1023.[3] During this period the Chhindakas were probably raided by the Cholas under Rājendra Chola whose inscription gives a complete list of the kingdoms he conquered including Kosala and Chakrokoṭṭa.[4] There seem to be internal disorders following the Chola invasion and Chola interference in the administration of Chakrakoṭṭa. There were rivalries between the members of the Chhindaka family for the throne of Chakrakoṭṭa in which the rival parties were instigated by the interference of the Cholas and the western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa. The other known rulers of the Chhindaka family were Dhārāvarsha *alias.* Jagadekabhūshaṇa whose known date from inscriptions is 1060 A.D., Madhurāntaka, who seems to have been a rival for the throne of Chakrakoṭṭa and ousted Dhārāvarsha, probably after the above mentioned date. The inscriptional evidences show that a Telugu-Choḍa feudatory family was ruling in a small principality in Bastar under the Nāgas of Chakrakoṭṭa.[5] The other known rulers of the Chhindaka family are Someśvara *alias* Rājabhūshaṇa, Kaṇhara, Narasiṁha *alias* Jagadekabhūshaṇa etc.

But it was Someśvara I *alias* Rājabhūshaṇa who is known from epigraphical as well as numismatic sources to be the most powerful king of the family. He was the son of Dhārāvarsha-Jagadekabhūshaṇa. His earliest known date is A.D. 1069. It is known from his epigraphs that he restored the sovereignty of his kingdom by killing Madhurāntaka, an usurper of the throne of Chakrakoṭṭa who captured the kingdom during about 1065 A.D. after the death of Dhārāvarsha.[6] He is credited in the epigraphic records to have led many military expeditions to Eastern Chālukya kingdom of Veṅgi, burnt Veṅgi, subjugated Bhadrapattana and Vajra (identified with modern Bhandak in Chanda district and Wairagarh in Madhya Pradesh) and seized six lakhs and ninetysix villages of Kosala and assumed the imperial titles of *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Parameśvara.* He also claims to have defeated the ruler of Uḍra (Orissa) and carried fire and sword into Lāñji (in Balaghat district) and Ratnapura (in Madhya Pradesh).[7] It is known from the contemporary epigraphical records that the Telugu-Choḍas who were the feudatories under the Chhindakas, helped the Nāga king Someśvara I to conquer the Sonepur tract of Orissa from the Somavaṁśī kings.[8] Thus he seems to have in his possession at least for a short period, a large

3. Hiralal, *Op.Cit.*, p. 166, No. 285.
4. *HCIP*, Vol. V, pp. 236-237.
5. Hiralal, *Op.Cit.*, pp. 158-59.
6. *EI*, Vol. X, pp. 25 ff.
7. *Ibid.* Vol. X, pp. 25 ff.
8. *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 285 ff ; pp. 321 ff.

portion of South Kosala until he was defeated and driven out from this area by the Kalachuri king Jājalladeva I of Ratanpur.[9] His last known date is A.D. 1097.[10]

The numismatic sources also corroborate the above facts as we shall see below. For our purpose, the major part of the history of the Nāgas of Chakrakoṭṭa seems to be of little interest as the majority of the rulers of this dynasty do not seem to have issued any coins In fact the coins so far discovered appear to be the issues of the only king i.e., Someśvara I who is known from the inscriptions of the period, to be the most powerful king of the dynasty and was in a position to issue gold coins.

A number of gold coins of two different types and fabrics, generally attributed to the Nāgas of Chakrakoṭṭa, are known to have been discovered in Koraput district of Orissa and in the Chhattisgarh division of Madhya Pradesh. In 1921, four gold coins were found in a hoard of 600 gold coins of Kalachuris of Ratanpur, at Sonsari Tahsil in the Bilaspur district of Madhya Pradesh.[11] The size of the coins as mentioned by B. C. Jain is 7″ and weight as 59 grains each.[12] He has identified the coins to be the issues of Someśvara I of the Nāga dynasty of Bastar. The description of the coins as given by him is as follows :

The obverse contains within the dotted border, the figure of a tiger, roaring, standing to right, facing left, forepaw raised from the ground ; before him a dagger with its point resting on ground ; above the animal sun and moon are represented on right and left respectively.

The reverse contains within dotted circle, legend in *Nāgarī* scripts written in three lines :

(1) Śrīmad-S (o),
(2) *me(śva)ra*,
(3) *deva(sya)*.

Another hoard of 28 thin and disc-like gold repousse coins were unearthed in 1957 in the Dumadei Reserve Forest area under Kodinga Police Station in Koraput district of Orissa. They are now preserved in the Orisaa State Museum at Bhubaneswar. S. N. Rajguru while writing a paper on these coins has attributed them to be the issues of the Nāga rulers of Chakrakoṭṭa.[13] The description of the coins, as they look may be given as follows :

They are thin, broad, and circular in shape. The devices and the legend are punched separately having striking similarity with the Eastern Chālukya and some of the Chola coins.[14] Due to the thinness and heavy punches on the coins they have

9. *Ibid*, Vol. I, pp. 32ff,
10. *Ibid*, Vol. X, pp. 25 ff.
11. *JNSI*, Vol. XVII, Part II, pp. 55ff & Plate VII, Nos. 12-15. These coins are now preserved in the Nagpur Museum.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *OHRJ*, Vol. VIII, No. 1, pp. 75 ff.
14. Cf. *IA*, Vol. XXV, (1896), p. 321 and Plate II.

become cup-shaped. The diameter of these coins are 3.7 cms. each, except one which is slightly bigger in size having the diameter of 4.3 cms. and weighing 3.878 gms. The other coins weigh 3.840 gms. each. The devices and legend are punched on one side only, the other side being blank. In the centre, a tiger facing right, surmounted by sun and moon represented by dots are punched. The legend in Telugu-Kanarese letters are showed around the edge, each letter being punched separately beginning with the letter *Śrī* and ending either with the device of a dagger pointed to the ground or a symbol for *Śiva Liṅgam.* Out of the total 28 coins, 27 pieces have the legend in the above mentioned scripts, reading *Rājabhūshaṇa* and one coin slightly bigger in size as stated, has the legend *Prapa (ti) gaṇḍabhairava.* S. N. Rajguru has doubtfully attributed one coin from the 27 pieces to *Raṇabhūshaṇa.*[15] But the letter which has been read by him as *na*, actually appears to be *ja*, when minutely examined, thus this coin also belongs to *Rājabhūshaṇa.* In fact, no king of this family with the epithet *Raṇabhūshaṇa* is known from any other sources.

The Nāga rulers of Chakrakoṭṭa, as known from their inscriptions assumed various royal epithets along with their personal names. Thus the titles like *Jagadekabhūshaṇa, Rājabhūshaṇa* or *Rāyabhūshaṇa, Nṛipatibhūshaṇa, Pratigaṇḍabhairava* etc. are known from their inscriptions. The inscriptions of Someśvara I reveals that he had both the titles of *Rājabhūshaṇa* or *Rāyabhūshaṇa* as well as *Pratigaṇḍa-bhairava.*[16] Both these titles appear on the gold coins under review and thus subs-tantiate our assumption that these coins were issued by Someśvara I. This attribution is further confirmed by the epigraphical evidence of his sovereign status, stated earlier.

From the above descriptions of the coins, it is interesting to note that Some-śvara I issued coins distinctly of two fabrics in gold. The first type, as described by B. C. Jain, appears to have been manufactured on the model of the coins of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur.[17] The weight standard and the techniqne involved in the production of these coins have close similarity with those of the Kalachuris of the above region. The palaeography of the legend having striking similarity with the palaeography on the Kalachuri coins seems to suggest that Someśvara I issued these coins for the region where these scripts were in use. The metal content, it appears from the description of Jain, was also probably same as those of the Kalachuri coins which are seen invariably of debased gold with more alloys; looking like silver pieces.

Similarly the description of the second type discovered from Koraput district in Orissa shows, close similarity in fabric with the coins of the Eastern Chālukyas

15. *OHRJ*, Vol. VIII, No. 1, p. 82 (Appendix).
16. *EI*, Vol. X, pp. 25 ff; Vol. IX, pp. 161-62; pp. 311 ff.
17. These coins were earlier identified by L. P. Pandeya as belonging to the Kala-churis of Ratanpur—*JAHRS*, Vol. XII, Part II, pp. 117-18.

and some of the coins of the Cholas. These coins also likewise conform the weight standard of their Eastern Chālukyan prototypes. The only difference between the coins of the Chhindakas and the Eastern Chālukyas and the Cholas are the representation of the central devices containing the dynastic crest and the different legends in the edges in Telugu-Kanarese and Tamil scripts reading the names of the respective issuers. The writing of the legend in Telugu-Kanarese scripts in the coins of Someśvara I of the Chhindaka Nāga family would certainly indicate that these coins were minted for Telugu speaking areas. It is known, that Kulottuṅga Chola I who wielded political authority over both the Eastern Chālukya and Chola country and united both the kingdoms under one sceptre, also issued some gold coins of the same fabric as those of the Chālukyas of Veṅgi.[18] These coins have the dynastic crest of tiger of the Cholas instead of the boar of the Eastern Chālukyas as their central device. These coins of Eastern Chālukyan coin-fabric with Chola legend would suggest that they were manufactured in Veṅgi country and meant to be circulated in this region along with Eastern Chālukyan coins.

Thus, it can evidently be suggested that Someśvara's conquest over the Kalachuris of Ratanpur and the later Somavaṁśīs of South Kosala must have induced him to issue coins on the model of the Kalachuris which were in circulation in this area while the other coins with Telugu-Kanarese legend were meant for the southern regions of his conquered territories in Veṅgi country.

The issue of gold coins of two different fabrics for two separate regions is significant to note. The practice of issuing different varieties of coins belonging to separate fabrics and weight-standard, for different conquered regions by sovereign rulers, is not new and noticed from early times. It was followed by the Imperial Guptas of Northern India, known to be the issuers of the silver coins on the model of the Western Kshatrapas, and at times counter-struck in Gujarat and Kathiawar regions.[19] The Cholas in the South also followed this practice in some of their conquered territories.[20] The point to be noted here that the coins issued by Someśvara I, the Chhindaka king, are not known to have been discovered in very large number. This may also indicate corroborating the epigraphical evidences that his possession of South Kosala and Veṅgi country was only for a short period. It is also not known if he issued any other variety of coin for his home province in Chakrakoṭṭa. It should be noted that both the countries of South Kosala and Veṅgi were contiguous to his own kingdom of Chakrakoṭṭa. The conspicuous absence of any coin of his predecessors or the rulers who succeeded him also support the presumption that the coins under discussion were meant for

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18. *IA*, Vol. XXV (1896), p. 321, Nos. 26-27; B. D. Chattopadhyaya, *Coins and Currency system in South India*, pp. 57ff.
19. See Chapter IV.
20. B. D. Chattopadhyaya, *Coins & Currency system in South India*, pp. 57ff.

largess money and intended for distribution in the conquered territories stated above to commemorate his victory over the enemy kings.

The attribution of the Kodinga hoard of Eastern Chālukya type coins described above, to Dhārāvarsha[21] does not seem to rest on convincing grounds. The legends on these coins also do not support this view. It is known from the epigraphical records that Dhārāvarsha had the epithet of *Jagadekabhūshaṇa* and not Rājabhūshaṇa. Moreover, it is known that Dhārāvarsha and his predecessors were not so powerful as his successor Someśvara I and they were busy in consolidating the Nāga kingdom in Bastar which was raided by Rājendra Chola during his northern expeditions.

Someśvara I is known from the inscriptions of his successors to have been alive upto 1111 A.D.[22] He was probably defeated by the Kalachuri king Jājalladeva I sometime during this period[23] and driven out from South Kosala. After this period, it is known from the epigraphical records that the Telugu-Choḍas changed their relationship with their overlords and assumed independent status by wresting the areas under their control (Sonepur region of Orissa and a part of Bastar in Madhya Pradesh) from the Chhindakas.[24] Thus it is probable to think that the Chhindaka rulers proved to be weak after Someśvara I and their kingdom was confined only to a small territorial unit in Bastar. This also indicates that they had no sovereign status to issue coins in their names.

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21. *OHRJ*, Vol. VIII, No. I, p. 77.
22. *HCIP*, Vol. V, pp. 218 ; Hiralal, *Inscriptions of C.P. & Berar*, pp. 158-166ff.
23. *Ibid*, Vol. V, pp. 215 ; *CII*, Vol. IV, Part I, pp. CXXIII-CXXIV.
24. *EI*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 286-289.

CHAPTER NINE

COINS OF THE YADAVAS OF DEVAGIRI

A class of gold coins, popularly known among the numismatists as *Padma-ṭaṅkas* is reported to have been discovered in some parts of the former Chhattisgarh State of Madhya Pradesh and the ex-State of Sonepur in Orissa. These regions were originally comprised within the South Kosala of early medieval period. There are records of discovery of this type of coins in other parts of the country, P. L. Gupta has recorded a number of discoveries of them from Maharashtra and Mysore.[1] R. Subrahmanyam has published a catalogue of these coins discovered in different parts of Andhra Pradesh.[2] O. P. Verma has recorded a list of these coins discovered in different parts of the country including the collection of them in the treasury of the ex-State of Sonepur in Orissa.[3]

The *Padma-ṭaṅkas* are so-called because of the depiction of an eight-petalled lotus at the centre of the coin. They were originally attributed to be the issues of the Kadambas of Goa of 5th century A.D. by Ellot.[4] Rapson accepted this view of Elliot but assigned them to a late date.[5] Srinivasa Raghava Iiyangar was for the first time to attribute these coins to the Yādava rulers of Devagiri whose names are incised in them.[6] The coins attributed by Elliot to the Yādavas on the basis of a Garuḍa symbol on the obverse, are die-struck pieces and the legends on them read different names other than the Yādava rulers.[7] The Yādavas are so far not known to have issued die-struck coins with symbols on both sides. The legends on the so-called *Padma-ṭaṅka* clearly read names of the Yādava rulers as mentioned in their epigraphical records.

The discovery of the so-called *Padma-ṭaṅkas* in Orissa known so far, is not in good numbers as in other parts of the country, so as to give us a clear picture of the prevalence of this coinage in this region of the country as currency. In the treasury of the ex-State of Sonepur, there was a collection of 27 gold *Padma-ṭaṅkas*

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1. *Coin Hoards from Maharashtra*, Nos. 12, 36, 40, 96, 189, 220 and from Mysore No. 17.
2. *A Catalogue of Yādava Coins in the A.P. Govt. Museum.*
3. *The Yādavas and their Times*, Nagpur, 1970.
4. *Coins of Southern India*, p. 54 and Plate I, Nos. 7 and 8.
5. *Indian Coins*, p. 32, Plate V, 18.
6. *JASB* (*NS*), No. XXXIX, 1925, pp. 6-10.
7. *Op.Cit.*, Plate III, 88, 89 and 89½.

which were reported to have been discovered in the vicinity of Sonepur, now under Bolangir district of Orissa[8] (Plate LI, Fig. 1). The exact find spot or their history of discovery are not recorded. They were brought to the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar, after the merger of the State in the province of Orissa in 1950-51. B. B. Nath published a paper on these coins with their bearing on the history of Orissa as well as the alleged Yādava rule in this part of the country.[9] Except this collection from Sonepur Treasury, no coins of the *Padma-ṭaṅka* type have so far been discovered from any part of Orissa. But these coins are reported to have been discovered from Karimnagar, Medak, Mahboobnagar and Krishna districts in Andhra Pradesh, Maldunge, Kalamb, Devalajhari and other places of Maharashtra, Chhattisgarh, Raigarh, East Nimar districts in Madhya Pradesh. The wide distribution of these coins has induced many scholars to believe that the Yādavas who were responsible for issuing these coins, held sway over a very extensive territory and their authority was acknowledged by several kingdoms in the Deccan.

The so-called *Padma-ṭaṅkas* are not exactly circular and look cup-shaped i.e., concave on one side and convex on the other. Symbols and legend on the obverse are punched separately along the four corners of the coin and at the centre. The gold pieces when flattened and punched with four symbols at four corners the shape of the coin became shallow and irregular. Then the symbol of a lotus at the centre was punched with a hard stroke for which the coin became cup-shaped. The reverse is blank. Besides the eight-petalled lotus (*Ashṭadala-padma*) at the centre, there are generally four separate punches of a conch (*Śaṅkha*), a scroll design resembling a *chakra* (discus) or indicating perhaps an auspicious symbol, a Telugu-Kanarese letter representing the auspicious symbol *Śrī* and the legend reading the name of the issuer in Nāgarī characters. These symbols and the legend are invariably found incomplete and also not of uniformed shape. Sometimes, the interspace between the punches on some coins are filled with dots and sometimes faint representation of a sword or animal like *Varāha* has been noticed by scholars.[10] Very often the top strokes of the scripts of the legend are missing, and only three or four letters could be read. This may be due to defective punching.

The legends on these coins read the names of respective issuers such as *Siṅghaṇa, Kaṇha* or *Kaṇhapa, Mahādeva* and *Śrī-Rāma* thus we get a list of rulers of the dynasty who are also known from their epigraphical records. The legends

8. *JNSI*, Vol. XV, pp. 126 ff ; *OHRJ*, Vol. II, pp. 1 ff. In the Museum coin cabinet at Bhubaneswar, there are actually 28 coins of the above type.
9. *Ibid.*
10. R. Subrahmanyam, *A Catalogue of the Yādava Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Govt. Museum*, p. 2 ; A. V. N. Murthy, *The coins of Karnataka*, p. 107.

are written in the scripts known as *Nandi-Nāgarī*, prevalent during 12th/13th centuries A.D. The palaeography of the legends show remarkable similarity with the characters used in the epigraphic records of the kings identical with the above names of the coin-legends.

A separate variety of these *Padma-ṭaṅkas* is also known from the discovery of actual specimens. But they are very small in number and identified by scholars as belonging to Śrī-Bhillamadeva,[11] of the same family of rulers mentioned above. One type of Bhillama consists of six punches consisting of two conventionalised Śrīs in Kanarese characters, a conch, a crudely executed lotus and an anthropoid figure perhaps depicting Krishṇa in the centre in place of the eight-petalled lotus and the legend in one of the corners of the coin flan.[12] Another type consists of the punches of eight-petalled lotus in the centre, two conventionalised *Śrīs* at both ends of the horizontal diameter, a conch at the bottom end of the vertical diameter, traces of stylized lion between the conch and the *Śrī* on the left and at the top end of the vertical diameter, the legend in *Nāgarī* characters.[13] Similarly, some coins of Mahādeva also contain a figure of a *Varāha* in between the lotus and the volute.[14] Some coins with the legend *Śrī-Rāma* or *Śrī-Śrī-Rāma* contain the punches of two conventionalised *Śrīs* in Kanarese letters, conch to left and discus to right and in the centre, a figure looking like a Garuḍa to right with arm lifted and the *Nāgarī* legend *Rāmacha.*[15]

The Yādavas of Devagiri who started their career as feudatories in Maharashtra and Karnataka region, played an important role in the political history of the Deccan for over three centuries. They were also named as Sevunas after one of the rulers of this dynasty, known as Sevuna Chandra, who was the son of Dṛiḍhaprahāra the first known historical king of this family. Sevuna Chandra was responsible for restoring the fortune of the family with his prowess and heroic deeds as known from various historical traditions and inscriptions of the period of the Yādava rule. The territorial unit under the rule of the Yādavas was named after him as *Sevuna-deśa* and the family was also called after his name as *Sevuna-vaṁśa.* They are known to be the feudatories of the Rāshṭrakūtas of Mānyakheṭa at first and then owed their allegiance to the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa, and assured the hereditary title of *Dvārāvatīpura-varādhiśvara.* But the gradual disintegration of

11. B. D. Chattopadhyaya, *Coins and Currency System in South India*, p. 75 and p. 284.
12. *Ibid*, p. 283.
13. *JNSI*, Vol. XXIX, Part II, pp. 46-8, Plate IV, Nos. 3-4; and Plate V, Nos. 1-3.
14. R. Subrahmanyam, *Op Cit.*, p. 2, No. 70 and Plate.
15. B. D. Chattopadhyaya, *Op.Cit.*, p. 290, No. 362 and Plate VII.

the Chālukya power enabled the Yādavas, to assume imperial status.[16] It was during the rule of the Yādava king Bhillama V in about 1187 A.D. that they assumed independent status and issued their independent coinage in the names of the respective rulers. Several epigraphic records of the period corroborate this assumption.

It is to be noted here that the *Padma-ṭaṅkas* of the Yādavas were adopted from the punched varieties of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa whom they succeeded in the Deccan. They also seem to have adopted the weight standard of the Chālukyas. The inscriptions of the Yādavas of Devagiri and the western Chālukyas mention varieties of coin-names both gold and silver, such as *āśu* or *āchchhu*, *nishka*, *dramma*, *gadyāṇa*, *suvarṇa*, *paṇa*, etc. They may indicate coins of different metals of different denominations and at the same time belonging to different regions. Some scholars think that the gold coins of the Yādavas should be called *gadyāṇas* rather than *Padma-ṭaṅkas*, as several inscriptions of their period furnish this term.[17] But it should be noted here that the term *gadyāṇa* is a coin-denomination based on a certain weight standard while *Padma-ṭaṅka* denotes a type. Moreover, the Yādava gold coins are now known to be popularly called *āśu* or *āchchhu* and not *Padma-ṭaṅka* in the days of their currency which is revealed by contemporary literature and inscriptional sources.[18] A prakrit work named *Dravya-parīkshā* by Ṭhakkura Pheru, a mint official under Alau-d-Din Khilji of the Sultanate of Delhi and a contemporary of the Yādavas, mentions that the gold coins of Siṅghaṇa and Mahādeva minted at Devagiri were known as *hemāchchhu* (*āchchhus* of gold).[19]

Apart from the gold coins of the Yādavas, theit silver issues have also now come to the notice of the scholars[20], although they are not yet known to have been discovered in any part of Orissa. The silver coin of Siṅghaṇa and other rulers of the dynasty weighed one *māshaka* each and four of which were equal to one *dramma* in value, as revealed by Ṭhakkura Pheru's *Dravya-parīkshā*. The *dramma* denotes here the billon coins of small value known as *dām* of the Khalji coinage and that the Indianised form of Greek *drachm* or *drachma*. Thus the word *dramma* denoting various types of coins belonging to different period can be ascertained from this literary work of the medieval period. It may be pointed out here that the silver coins of the Yādavas are known to be double-die pieces unlike their gold coins which have blank reverse. They are light-weight pieces of very small size ranging

16. For the Political history of the Yādavas see, *HCIP*, Vol V, pp. 185 ff. ; A. V. N. Murthy, *The Sevunas of Devagiri*, Mysore, 1971, G. Yazdani (ed), *The Early History of the Deccan*, Part VIII, pp. 515-556 ; O. P. Verma, *The Yādavas and their Times*, Nagpur, 1970.
17. R. Subrahmanyam, *Op.Cit.*, p. 3.
18. *Numismatic Digest*, Vol. IV, Part I, p. 31.
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid.*

from 0.4 cm. to 0.9 cm. and weight varying from 0.2288 gm. and 1.8810 gm. The obverse of these coins contain the name of the issuer in the *Nāgarī* scripts in two lines and on the reverse rudely executed lion standing to left and sometimes to right. It should also be noted that very few silver coins of the Yādavas have so far come to light, in comparison to their gold pieces.

The so-called Yādava *Padma-ṭaṅkas* or the *āchchhus* so far known to have been discovered, belong to Bhillama which continued through Siṅghaṇa, Kaṇha or Kāṇhapa, Mahādeva upto Rāmachandra who is said to be the last independent ruler of the dynasty. The usual size of all of their coins ranges from 1.5 cm. to 1.9 cm. and weight, from 3.65 gms. to 3.840 gms. The variations of weight and size may be due to the loss of metal in clipping by dishonest persons and also due to wear and tear for long handling.

The coins of Bhillama are not known in good number and found only in Maharashtra, the original seat of the Yādavas. This Bhillama has been identified by scholars as Bhillama V who is believed to be the first independent king of the Yādava dynasty[21] and responsible to lay the foundations for the greatness of the family. He was the son of Karṇa and the grandson of Mallugi who started his rule as a feudatory under the Kalachuris of Kalyāṇa as early as 1173 A.D. but assumed independence by 1187 A.D.[22] He is known to have established the capital of the Yādavas at Devagiri, the modern Daulatabad. He first introduced the *Padma-ṭaṅka* type of gold coins possibly at the instance of the Western Chālukyas whose weight standard he seems to have adopted for his "punched lion" type. This type of *Padma-ṭaṅkas* seems to be the earliest coins of the Yādava dynasty, manufactured in imitation to the fabric of the Chālukyan standard. He also seems to have raised the standard of the coins which was continued till the decline of the Yādava rule.

The next ruler of the Yādava dynasty to issue coins of the *Padma-ṭaṅka* type is Siṅghaṇa who ruled from C. 1210 to C. 1247 A.D. He seems to have extended the Yādava empire from Khandesh upto Shimoga and Anantapur district and from western coast upto eastern parts of Hyderabad and Berar.[23] His coins have been found in Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra and also from Sonepur in Orissa. Some minor variations are noticed in the execution of the coins of Siṅghaṇa out of the four symbols punched along the flan. One is taken to be a conventional auspicious symbol, looking like a *chakra*. This is also seen in the Sonepur treasury collection. In another type of his coins, an object like a sword in a sheath with two dots attached to it is noticed below the *Nāgarī* legend reading the name of the king. A few of his coins also show a bow instead of a sword with

21. *JNSI*, Vol. XXX, pp. 211 ff; B. D. Chattopadhyaya, *Op Cit.*, p. 76.
22. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. XX, No. 172.
23. *HCIP*, Vol. V, p. 199.

other symbols as usual.[24] These variations are also seen in the coins of the Sonepur treasury collection.

The successor of Siṅghaṇa to the Yādava throne was Kṛishṇa who was grandson of Siṅghaṇa and son of Jaitugi II and ascended the throne in C. 1247 A.D. The history of the Yādavas of this period reveals that Jaitugi II, son of Siṅghaṇa had predeceased his father and thus did not issue any coin of his own. The coins of Kṛishṇa have been found in association with those of Siṅghaṇa and his successors throughout the Yādava empire and the adjoining regions where Yādava influence was extended. His coins are same as those of his grandfather so far as their fabric and weight are concerned. The legend on his coins invariably read his name as *Kaṇha* or *Kāṇhapa*. Some scholars have also read the legend on some pieces as *Kaṇhara*.[25] His coins indicate that he also enjoyed a prosperous reign like his grandfather. Evidences also support the fact that he adopted a policy of expansion and maintained the dominions he had inherited from his grandfather. Some scholars believe that he led an expedition on the east as far as the South Kosala country.[26] During this time, he came into conflict with the Kākatīyas of Warrangal who were the traditional enemies of the Yādavas. The epigraphical records of his successors claim that Kṛishṇa defeated the kings of Gurjara, Mālava, Cholas and Kosala.[27] But the names of these kings are not specifically mentioned. It is difficult to identify the king of Kosala whom Kṛishṇa defeated, for, during this peroid, the Kalachuris of Kosala or Ratanpur were in the state of decline and they were divided into two branches, one ruling from Ratanpur and the other from Raipur.[28] On the evidence of some coins of the Yādavas in Chhattisgach region, scholars are of opinion that Kṛishṇa led his army as far as Raipur and Bilaspur districts of Madhya Pradesh.[29] His coins have also been found along with Siṅghaṇa's in the Sonepur treasury collection.

The next ruler to issue gold coins of the same fabric as above was Mahādeva, brother of Kṛishṇa who succeeded him to the Yādava throne in about 1261 A.D. He is also known to have continued the traditional hostilities with the Hoysalas, the Silaharas of Northern Konkan, the Vāghelas of Gujarat, the Paramāras of Malwa and the Kākatīyas of Warrangal. The most significant event during his reign was his clash with the Kākatīya queen Rudramādevī, daughter of Gaṇapati (1259-95 A.D.). In the battle that followed, both the sides claimed victory over each other as known

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24. *JNSI*, Vol. VII, 147.
25. Chattopadhyaya, *Op.Cit.*, No. 354, p. 287.
26. *HCIP*, Vol. V, pp. 197ff.
27. *EI*, Vol. XXV, pp. 204ff.
28. *CII*, Vol. IV, Part I, p. CXXXI.
29. *HCIP*, Vol. V, p. 197.

from the literary sources of the contemporary and the subsequent period.[30] There are also controversies among the scholars on the find of a large number of gold *Padma-ṭaṅkas* of Mahādeva and other Yādava rulers at Rachapatnam,[31] that Mahādeva was defeated at the hands of Kākatīya Rudramādevī and paid the coins as war indemnity. On the evidence of these coins, some scholars also believe that the Yādavas extended their supremacy upto Andhra region. Although the coins of the Yādavas are known from a wide area in Andhra Pradesh, from Karimnagar, Medak, Mahboobnagar and Krishna districts, it is not reasonable to suggest territorial expansion by the Yādavas in these areas. But it is true that the Yādavas were sworn enemies of the Kākatīyas and attacked their kingdom from time to time which continued for generations since the rise of Bhillama V and the downfall of the Chālukyan empire of Kalyāṇa. It is rather possible to think that their coins might have entered the dominion of the Kākatīyas along with the Yādava army from time to time. Moreover, it is to be noted that the privilege of issuing coins especially in gold was not always vested with the ruling authorities in the early medieval period as known from various sources and several money changers and trade guilds shared this privilege and earned considerable profit out of it. It is also known from the South Indian inscriptions that these money changers could convert one variety of coin into another. Thus an inscription of 11th century from Karnataka refers to money changers converting *Lokki-gadyāṇa* into *Mayūra-gadyāṇa.*[32]

Foreign travellers of the medieval period have frequently mentioned in their writings the usual practices of the money changers and merchants. According to Barbosa, the principal trade of the merchants of the Western coast was to deal along with other valuable goods such as pearls, corals, precious stones, etc., valuable metals such as gold and silver either coined or to be coined.[33] Other foreign travellers like Varthema, Farishta, Vasco Da Gama of about the same period also noticed the same practice in different parts of the country.[34] Some inscriptions of 11th and 12th centuries from Maharashtra and Karnataka refer to some coin terms which are named after merchants.[35] Thus several evidences suggest that the control of currency system by ruling authorities in the medieval period was extremely diffused. We may surmise that the find of the Yādava gold coins in good number in the Kākatīya kingdom which entered in the train of the expeditions led by the Yādava rulers were accepted and utilised by the different mercantile guilds for their

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30. R. Subrahmanyam, *Op.Cit.*, pp. 10-11 ; A. V. N. Murthy, *Op.Cit.*, p. 113.
31. *Ibid.*
32. *SII*, Vol. IX, Part I, No. 164.
33. T. V. Mahalingam, *Economic Life in the Vijayanagar Empire*, Madras, 1951, p. 137.
34. A. Appadorai, *Economic Conditions in Southern India (1000-1500 A.D.)*, Vol. II, Madras, 1936, pp. 724-726.
35. *EI*, Vol. XXXII, p. 60 ; *SII*, Vol, XI, Part II, No. 145.

high metallic value. The presence of a minor symbol what looks like a boar in a few coins of Mahādeva in the Rachapatnam hoard, also induced some scholars to believe that Rudramādevī "as a mark of her victory over the Yādava king Mahādeva, got her emblem struck on the coins of the vanquished enemy.[36] It should be noted here that some coins of Bhillama V contain a minute symbol which looks like a boar or lion. Coins of Siṅghaṇa and his successors contain minute symbols like lion, sword or bow. Moreover, these minute symbols are not in their complete form and invariably illegible. Thus it may not be reasonable to suggest anything definite at the present state, since, the number of coins of Mahādeva containing the alleged boar symbol are not many. Only two coins of this type have been illustrated by Subrahmanyam which are also not very clear to examine them in detail.

The last known ruler of the Yādava dynasty to have issued gold coins of the same fabric as those of his predecessors is Śrī-Rāma or Rāmchandra. He was the son of Kṛishṇa or Kaṇhapa and succeeded to the Yādava throne after Mahādeva. Inscriptions of his time show that he successfully maintained the Yādava empire during the early part of his reign.[37] But during the last part of 13th century A.D. he came into conflict with the Sultanate of Delhi and was defeated by Allau-d-Din-Khilji who invaded Devagiri, the capital of the Yādavas in 1294 A.D. Thus by the beginning of the 14th century, Ramachandra lost the suzerainty of the vast kingdom built by his predecessors beginning from Bhillama V upto his reign, and became a vassal under the Śultanate of Delhi and the Yādava kingdom finally passed into the hands of the Muslims.

There are two types of *Padma-ṭaṅkas* issued by Rāmachandra, so far known to numismatists.[38] The first type is similar in fabric and symbology as his predecessors. These coins contain the eight-petalled lotus at the centre and the legend reads *Śrī-Rāma* or only *Rāma*, along with other usual auspicious symbols of Telugu-Kannaḍa letter *Śrī* and the discus (*chakra*). The other type consists of a symbol which looks like a Garuḍa at the centre in place of the eight-petalled lotus as identified by scholars.[39] The symbol of Garuḍa at the centre appears to face right with arm lifted. The *Nāgarī* legend reads *Rāmacha* obviously for *Rāmachandra* which is due to want of space. The other conventionalised symbols of *Śrī*, the discus and the conch are punched as usual. The Garuḍa symbol was also used as the royal emblem on the seals of the copper plate charters and also in their banner (*Suvarṇa-Garuḍa-dhvaja*-banner of a golden Garuḍa), some-

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36. R. Subrahmanyam, *Op.Cit.*, p. 11.
37. *EI*, Vol. XXV, pp. 206ff. ; *CII*, Vol. IV, Part I, p. CVII.
38. B. D. Chattopadhyaya, *Op.Cit.*, pp. 289-90 ; M. H. Krishna, *Dakhan Numismatics*, No. 3, p. 141.
39. M. H. Krishna, *Dakhan Numismatics*, No. 3, p. 141.

times, along with the emblem of Hanumān, the monkey-god, M. H. Krishna, on the basis of this Garuḍa figure has tried to establish that this Rāmachandra was a different person of a different dynasty of the South.[40] But the fabric; symbology as well as the palaeography of the coin-legend suggest that Śrī-Rāma of these coins was the one and the same person of the Yādava epigraphic records.

The *Padma-ṭaṅkas* have been discovered in Chhattisgarh area of South Kosala which have led many scholars to think that this area also came under the Yādava rule.[41] In some Yādava inscriptions, Siṅghaṇa is credited to have defeated a ruler of Ḍāhala country, although the name of the ruler is not mentioned.[42] The inscription of Rāmachandra also claims that he "defeated the mighty lord of the extensive Ḍāhala country".[43] He is also credited to have defeated the king of Kosala, apparently South Kosala. The last known date of Rāmachandra as known from the same epigraphical record of Rāmachandra in 1310 A.D., by which time it seems that he had become a vassal king under the Sultanate of Delhi. It is known from various sources that he helped the Muslims to conquer Telaṅgāṇa country in 1308 and also to march against the Hoysalas in 1311.[44] Probably his claim to have captured the kingdom of Ḍāhala and other kings of Central Provinces and Gujarat was in association with the Muslim army of the Sultanate of Delhi whom he helped with equipments.

Literary and epigraphical records of the time of Siṅghaṇa mention that he defeated one Kakkula who was the king of Varatadeśa.[45] According to Altekar this Kakkula was a king of Tripuri.[46] But this king is known to have flourished at least two centuries earlier than Siṅghaṇa. There was another king named Kakala ruling near Shimoga District in Karnataka, as known from an inscription found at Uddari in the same district. A. V. N. Murthy has identified Kakkula with this Kakala which seems more reasonable to be accepted.[47] Moreover, Varatadeśa is mentioned in several Southern inscriptions[48], the exact location of which, although not known, can be taken to have situated in South India probably around Shimoga district in Karnataka.

Siṅghaṇa is also credited to have defeated one Jajjala whom Altekar identified

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40. M. H. Krishna, *Dakhan Numismatics*, p. 141.
41. *JNSI*, Vol. VII, p. 147; Vol. XV, p. 126.
42. *CII*, Vol. IV, Part I, p. CVII; *EI*, Vol. XXV, p. 206.
43. *Ibid.*
44. *HCIP*, Vol. V, p. 196.
45. A. V. N. Murthy, *Op.Cit.*, p. 115.
46. *JNSI*, Vol. VIII, pp. 147-8.
47. *Op.Cit.*, p. 115.
48. *EI*, Vol. XXV, pp. 204 ff.

with Jājalladeva of the Kalachuri family of Ratanpur.[49] But this Kalachuri king ruled much earlier in time. It is known from the history of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur that their rule ended in Chhattisgarh region of South Kosala by the early part of 13th century A.D. Altekar has taken the king Jajjala of the Yādava epigraphical record as Jājalla III of the Eastern Chedi dynasty whom he placed after Pratāpamalla (C. 1210 A.D.), the last known ruler of this family. According to him Jājalla III succeeded Pratāpamalla after C. 1215 A.D. or 1220 A.D. He is also presumed on the discovery of a few gold coins of Siṅghaṇa in Raigarh State along with a coin of the Slave king Nasir-Ud-din Mahmud (C. 1246 to 1266 A. D.), that the Yādavas for some time held sway over Chhattisgarh division of South Kosala. He had the belief on the evidence of the discovery of Siṅghaṇa's coins alone that the Yādavas probably lost this region to the Muslims after Siṅghaṇa. But on the basis of the Sonepur Treasury collection, B. B. Nath opines that since the coins of Siṅghaṇa's successors down to Rāmchandra have also come to light in this area, all of their coins were current here.[50] But A. V. N. Murthy has identified Jajjala with the king of the same name found in an inscription in Karnataka[51] who was a ruler of Śrīraṅga (modern Srirangapatam near Mysore) and was probably a contemporary of Siṅghaṇa. It is also to be noted that Siṅghaṇa's own epigraphical records are also found in the vicinity of Srirangapatna.[52] Thus it seems fairly possible that Siṅghaṇa was credited with the victory over two kings of the Karnataka region identical with the same names of South Kosala in the contemporary epigraphical and literary records. It is also interesting to note that epigraphical record of Siṅghaṇa claims the erection of the column of victory on the banks of the river Kaveri by one of his generals.[53]

We have no direct evidence available in Chhattisgarh region to establish that the Yādavas ever held sway over this area. The period when Bhillama V started a career of political conquests, the Kalachuri power of Ratanpur was in the state of decline. It is strange to note that there is no Yādava inscription available in this part of the country claiming any territorial expansion or to hint at the Yādava rule even after the decline of the Kalachuris and the subsequent period. The Sonepur-Bolangir region of Orissa was during this period included in the Chhattisgarh region of South Kosala. It is known from the Kalachuri records found in the Chhattisgarh region[54], that the Imperial Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga had come into conflict with the Kalachuris of Ratanpur for the possession of the Sonepur region after the downfall

49. *JNSI*, Vol. VII, p. 147 ; *JKHRS*, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 162.
50. *JNSI*, Vol. XV, pp. 126ff.
51. A. V. N. Murthy, *Coins of Karnataka*, p. 115.
52. *Ibid.*
53. *Ibid.*
54. *CII*, Vol. IV, Part II, pp. 519ff.

of the Somavaṁśīs, the Telugu-Choḍas, the Nāgas of Chakrakoṭṭa, who occupied this region in succession. It is also known from their records that Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga and his son and successor Jaṭeśvara *alias* Madhukāmārṇava were defeated at the hands of Ratnadeva II and Pṛithvīdeva II of the Kalachuri family of Ratnapur[55] respectively. The inscription of Jājalla II[56] also confirms this. This region continued to be in the possession of the Kalachuris till their downfall and till it was occupied by Anaṅgabhīma III (A.D. 1216-1235) as is evidenced from his Chāṭeśvara temple inscription.[57] Anaṅgabhīma III had matrimonial relation with some later members of the Kalachuri family as is evidenced from the Anantavāsudeva temple inscription of his daughter Chandrikādevī[58], dated in 1278 A.D. whom the gave in marriage to Paramārdideva, a later member of the Haihaya or Kalachuri family and made one of his generals. It is also known from this inscription that he died in the war against the Muslims of Bengal. In the subsequent period, this region was in the possession of the Imperial Gaṅgas as known from the Sonepur stone inscription of Bhānudeva I, grandson of Anaṅgabhīma III.[59]

Thus from the above background of the contemporary political history, it can very well be surmised that the Yādavas never penetrated into the Chhattisgarh region of Madhya Pradesh or into the Sonepur region of Orissa. In the absence of any corroborative evidence, the find of some stray coins of the Yādavas cannot be taken as indicative of any territorial expansion by them in this part of the country. When all other evidences are in the negative, the numismatic evidences of a stray nature is always the last to rely upon, in order to establish the theory that the Yādavas extended their suzerainty over South Kosala including Chhattisgarh and Bolangir-Sonepur tract in Orissa. The very silence of the contemporary inscriptions with regard to Yādava rule is a definite proof to refute the various conjectures made by scholars on this point.

It is a well known fact that the gold coins are extremely migratory. The possible alternative for the attribution of the stray finds of the Yādava coins in the Chhattisgarh state and Sonepur is to be sought elsewhere. During the beginning of 14th century A.D., the Muslim power was firmly established in India and they had already occupied the Yādava capital of Devagiri. They had also occupied Baghelkhand and the Ḍāhala country as revealed by an inscription dated in 1328 A. D.[60] It is possible to think that the Yādava coins might have entered the Ḍāhala and from there to the South Kosala in the train of the invasions led by the Muslims to

55. *Ibid,* Part I, pp. CXXVI-CXXVII.
56. *Ibid,* Part II, pp. 519 ff.
57. *EI,* Vol. XXIX, p. 125.
58. *Ibid,* Vol. VIII, pp. 150-155.
59. *EI,* Vol. XXXII, pp. 325 ff.
60. Hiralal, *Inscriptions in C.P. and Berar*, p. 58.

whom the Yādavas under Rāmachandra might have helped with equipments. It seems that these coins were carried by the Muslim army to this region. It is also possible to think that as the Yādavas had conflicts with the Paramāras, the Chedis of Ḍāhala, their coins might have entered South Kosala through these territories in course of commercial transactions. These coins of Siṅghaṇa and his successors might have entered the Sonepur region during the period when the Gaṅgas were in the possession of this region.

CHAPTER TEN

THE GANGA FANAMS AND COIN NAMES FROM INSCRIPTIONS OF MEDIEVAL ORISSA

A group of gold coins, very thin and small in size and light in weight, are popularly known as *fanams*. These coins have been frequently found in various parts of Orissa and generally attributed to the coinage of the Gaṅga kings, particularly to the imperial line of this dynasty which ruled Orissa from the beginning of the 12th century upto 1435 A.D. The European scholars called them *fanam* for the Sanskrit word *paṇam*. The epigraphical records of the Tamil and Kanarese regions of South India are abundant with references of *paṇam* or *paṇa* with its various names and types.[1] The *paṇams* seem to have been issued in gold as well as in copper by various medieval royal dynasties in the South. They also seem to have been in popular use even during the Muslim rule.[2] The term *hana* or *hun* in Kannaḍa language, denoting a gold coin, was the same as *paṇa* in Sanskrit. This was in circulation in Tamil and Telugu-Kanarese regions even upto 1833 A.D.[3] The Portuguese travellers of 15th century noticed only this currency in South India towards the end of 15th century. It is also known from the epigraphical evidence as well as abundant finds of the so-called *fanams* in various types that it formed the basic unit of South India coinage which influenced the coinage of Orissa during the medieval period.

Fanams are the smallest variety of the South Indian gold coins weighing generally 5 grains to 7 grains (0.324 gm. to 0.453 gms.) and their usual sizes vary from 0.9 cm. to 1.1 cm. in diameter. They have also been fonnd in separate denominations apparently of 1/4 and 1/2 *fanams* weighing 0.194 gm. to 0.131 gm. and their sizes are 0·7 cm. to 0·5 cm. They are struck from the die and are double-die pieces, round in shape. It is known that the theoretical weight standard in South India was based on the two indigenous beans, *mañjāḍi* (*Odenathera pavonina*) and *Kalañju* (*Caesalpinia bonduc.*) and one seed of *mañjāḍi* was equal to two seeds of *raktikā* or *rati* of North Indian base of metric system which roughly represent the weight of 3.6 grains and 10 *mañjāḍis* made one *kalañju*. According to Elliot, the weight of a *mañjāḍi* ranged between 4 and 5.305 grains.[4] But the weight standard of the actual specimens of the *fanams* and other gold coins do not always correspond to this theoretical weight as will be known from the discussion.

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1. B. D. Chattopadhyaya, *Coins and Currency Systems in South India*, pp. 172 ff.
2. *Num. Dig.*, Vol. III, Part I, pp. 26 ff. and Plates ; Vol. I, Part I, pp. 60 ff. ; *BMCI*, (Mughal period), No. 1044, p. 217.
3. *Num. Dig.*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 60.
4. Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*, Note, 3, p. 46.

Actuat specimens of the so-called Gaṅga-*fanams* have been discovered from a very extensive area in Orissa and many of them have been recorded by different scholars with details of their hearing on Orissa history. Earlier European as well as Indian scholars have recorded several of these *fanams* and attributed them to the Imperial Gaṅgas for which they have been called Gaṅga-*fanams* since then. A list of them may be given below :

1. In 1882, G. Biddie noticed some Gaṅga-*fanams* in the *Proceedings of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LII (1883), pp. 40ff.
2. In 1885, W. Elliot referred to some *fanams* but wrongly attributed them to the Kākatīyas of Warrangal on the evidence of their discovery from Rewada.[5]
3. In 1893, Cunningham noticed these coins in his *Coins of Medieval India*, Page 35.
4. In 1896, Hultzsch described four Gaṅga-*fanams* which were obtained by F. Fawcett, the then Superintendent of Police in Ganjam district. He attributed them to different regnal years of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga of the Gaṅga dynasty of Kaliṅganagara.[6]
5. In 1897 Hoernle published some Gaṅga-*fanams* which were collected from Angul. These coins, excepting two, were in ornament form with loops attached to them for the purpose of making a necklace.[7] These were possibly deposited in the coin cabinet of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, which V. A. Smith included in his Catalogue.[8]
6. R. S. R. Iyangar referred to some Gaṅga-*fanams* attributing them to the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara.[9]
7. In 1903, M. M. Chakravarti published some Gaṅga-*fanams* attributing them to Anaṅgabhīma of the Gaṅga dynasty.[10]
8. R. Subha Rao dealt with some Gaṅga-*fanams* attributing them to the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅgadeśa which are frequently found "after heavy rains on old historical sites in Kaliṅgadeśa like Kaliṅgapaṭṭanam, Mukhaliṅgam, Dantapuram and Santa Bommali".[11] He opines that these *fanams* are

5. *Coins of Southern India*, Plate III, No. 93, p. 85.
6. *IA*, Vol. XXV (1896), p. 322.
7. *JASB*, Vol. LXVI, 1897, Part I, No. 3, pp, 144-45.
8. *Coins of Ancient India*, Vol. I, pp. 314-15.
9. *JAHRS*, Vol. I, pp. 132-33 ff.
10. *JASB*, Vol. LXXII, (1903), p. 120.
11. *JAHRS*, Vol. V, Part 4, pp. 249-50 ff. He attributed the gold *fanams* with the symbol of fishes to the Matsyas of Oḍḍāḍi who ruled the country around Vizagapatam district of Andhra Pradesh, who according to him, were vassals of the Eastern Gaṅgas. These were, in fact, issued by the Imperial Cholas who had the dynastic emblem of fish and tiger.

also called *Matsya-fanams* or *Siṁha-fanams* according to the emblems they bear.

According to him, the Oriya *sa* like symbol on the reverse of these *fanams* is, "a figure of a Roman scale, a trade mark showing commercial relationship between Rome and Kaliṅgadeśa in ancient times". The same symbol on some of the *fanams*, he has described as *Chaturāśrama*. On the reverse of some of the coins he has read letters like *Va*, *Gaṁ* indicating the names of the Gaṅgas.

Besides the above discoveries of the Gaṅga-*fanams* recorded by ealier scholars, large number of these coins have been found during the last three decades of the present century, a list of which is given below :

1. In 1941, a hoard of 130 coins is reported to have been collected from Baḍasāntrāpur under Tāṅgi Police Station of Cuttack district which are now preserved in the State Museum at Bhubaneswar.[12]
2. In 1942, 119 Gaṅga-*fanams* were reported by P. C. Rath, to have been discovered at the feet of the Parimalgiri hill and the Gandhamardan range of hills, now under Bolangir district (formerly in the Patna State) out of which, according to him, 80 coins were deposited in the State Treasury.[13]
3. In 1942, 40 coins of the same type were acquired for the Museum at Bhubaneswar from Bargarh Sub-division in Sambalpur district which are unpublished.
4. In 1943, 58 Gaṅga-*fanams* of smaller size are reported to have been collected from Angul.[14]
5. In 1945, two small size Gaṅga-*fanams* were collected for the State Museum from Bargarh in Sambalpur district along with gold ornaments.[15]
6. In 1950, 49 coins, which were formerly deposited in the Sonepur State Treasury, were brought to the Orissa State Museum.[16] They are

12. *JKHRS*, Vol I, No. 4, p. 367. These coins were formerly deposited in the Bhubaneswar Treasury and according to the Treasury Report recorded in the Museum, the number of coins are 117.
13. *JNSI*, Vol. V, pp. 61-64. Out of these coins, he published only 12. These coins have now been brought to the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar after the merger of the Patna State. Their number is not 80 but 75 as revealed by the Museum record.
14. These coins together with the above 40 coins from Bargarh have been published by S. C. De in *JKHRS*, Vol. I, No. 4, p. 367 ff.
15. Information collected from the Orissa State Museum record.
16. *JNSI*, Vol. XIII, pp. 191-92. These coins were reported to have been discovered near the Suvarṇameru temple in Sonepur town and from the village Vaidyanāth as known from the letter of S.D.O., Sonepur to the Museum authority (No. 2793 dated 15th May, 1951). According to the local belief, these coins are showered from above.

reported to have been discovered in the vicinity of the modern town of Sonepur.

7. In 1952, five Gaṅga-*fanams* of smaller size (locally called *chamaries*) were unearthed along with some old ornaments within the premises of Orissa Texitile Mills at Chowduar in Cuttack district.[17]
8. In 1969, a treasure-trove of 21 gold-*fanams* was discovered at Danduasiṅghpur under Jagatsiṅghpur Police Station of Cuttack district, now preserved in the State Museum at Bhubaneswar. These coins have not been published.
9. In 1969, another treasure-trove of 12 coins and one fragment of the same type was discovered within the premises of the Baḍasāmanta Maṭh at Puri town which are also now preserved in the State Museum and yet to be published.
10. In 1970, a hoard of 30 Gaṅga-*fanams* were discovered as treasure-trove at Khuruṇṭā in Balasore district. This hoard is also still unpublished and now preserved in the State Museum.
11. In 1971, 9 pieces of Gaṅga-*fanams* with loops attached to them, intended for making a necklace were acquired for the Orissa State Museum from a private person in the Collectorate of Mayurbhanj. They have remained unpublished.
12. In 1973, 179 numbers of these *fanams* were collected for the Orissa State Museum from the Dhenkanal Treasury. The exact findspot of these coins are not known and they are yet to be published.
13. In 1977, a hoard of 15 Gaṅga-*fanams* were discovered at the foot of a hill called Bhaṇḍārikhiā in the reserve forest of Chandakā, situated at a distance of 17 kms. from Bhubaneswar.[18]
14. Six Gaṅga-*fanams* were discovered at Sonepur and now preserved in the Sambalpur University Museum.[19]
15. In 1978-79 two Gaṅga-*fanams* were unearthed along with some gold

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17. Information collected from the State Museum record. In 1927-28, two coins of the same type were collected for the Museum from Chowduar are now preserved in the branch Museum at Baripada in Mayurbhanj district. Four other Gaṅga-*fanams* of smaller size are also preserved in this Museum, but their findspot is not recorded.
18. *JNSI*, Vol. XL, pp. 120 ff and Plate III. The conclusion drawn on the symbology of these coins in this paper is revised here, after a thorough examination of all the hoards so far came to the notice of scholars as well as those unpublished hoards preserved in the Museum.
19. *New Aspects of History of Orissa*, (Department of History, Sambalpur University), Vol. II, p. 41.

ornaments in the Leprosy Colony at the Puri town. They are now preserved in the Orissa State Museum.

Besides the above discoveries in Orissa, Gaṅga-*fanams* are also known to have been discovered outside the province. A Gaṅga-*fanam* is reported to have been found in 1955 at the ancient site of Tāmralipti, modern Tamluk in Midnapore district of West Bengal and now preserved in the Asutosh Museum, Calcutta.[20]

The symbols on obverse occurring on these so-called Gaṅga-*fanams*, (Plate LII, Fig. 1) are invariably a couchant bull facing right with various minute religious symbols in front and above the animal. These religious symbols generally consist of a *Śaṅkha* (Conch), *Chakra* (disc) and two horns of the bull. Sometimes a trident or a dagger like minute symbol is noticed in front or above the bull. Sometimes, these minute symbols are found not struck clearly, when closely examined. It can be well understood from their detailed illustrations as given by S. C. De.[21] The symbols for *Śaṅkha* and *Chakra* are found not deeply struck invariably on a large number of coins, for which either the central device or the curves on the edges of the *Chakra* are missing, *Śaṅkha* representing only as a circle and two dots above and below of it. The reverse of the coins shows an Oriya *sa* like symbol as identified by scholars, (Plate LII, Fig. 2) which is placed horizontally and flanked by symbols of an *Aṅkuśa* (Elephant goad) and a *Kuṭhāra* (battle axe) on either side. Below this symbol, are inscribed some Telugu-Kannaḍa numerals, presumbly the regnal reckonings of the issuer of these coins. Another variety of such type of coins bear a legend of three letters in Northern *Nāgarī* characters of 12th-13th centuries above the *sa* like symbol on the edge of the reverse while the obverse devices are same as on other varieties stated above. This legend reads *Śrī-Rāma*. S. C. De has tried to classify all these *fanams* on the basis of the variations in the *sa* like symbol on the reverse and the occurrence of the minute religious symbols as stated above on the obverse. It is to be noted that the main symbols on the obverse, viz., the couchant bull and the *sa* like symbol and the Telugu-Kannaḍa numerals on the reverse, when minutely observed from a large number of coins, seem to have little difference in their depiction and the different varieties of them emphasized by De on the basis of the symbols of indifferent and careless striking by die-cutters, bear little or no significance in this context. We have rather three different denominations of these coins according to their size and weight standard followed in their manufacturing (Plate LIII, Figs. 1 and 2). The same symbols as described above and the Telugu-Kanarese numerals can also be noticed on the smaller denominations of these coins, if minutely observed. But the symbols as well as the numerals look very clumsy and crudely struck for want of sufficient space due to their very small size and at times it becomes difficult to identify them.

20. *PIHC*, Vol. XIX, pp. 89-93 ; *JNSI*, Vol. XXI, pp. 76-78,
21. *JKHRS*, Vol. I, No. 4, pp. 368-69.

The Gaṅga-*fanams* of the usual size which are frequently found throughout Orissa, may be broadly classified into two varieties, viz., the coins with the legend *Śrī-Rāma* and those without the legend. Both these varieties have the same weight standard and are of usual size.

These coins have generally been assigned by the numismatists to the Imperial Gaṅga rulers of Orissa on the ground that they bear the symbol of a couchant bull which was their dynastic emblem. There are also other reasons to attribute these coins to the Gaṅgas as we shall presently see. The history of this line of kings, popularly known as Greater or Imperial Eastern Gaṅgas began during the early part of the 11th century A.D. with the rule of Vajrahasta-Anantavarman, father of Rājarāja and grandfather of the great Anantavarman-Choḍagaṅga.[22] During the close of the 10th century, the kingdom of the early Eastern Gaṅgas appears to have been split up into several branches. One of these branches, known as the Gaṅgas of Śvetaka ruled as feudatories under the Bhaumakaras of Toshali. These branches who had their principalities in the Srikakulam (Andhra Pradesh) and Ganjam (Orissa) districts are known to have constant conflicts with the Eastern Chālukyas and the Cholas during the middle of the 9th century when the Eastern Chālukya king Vijayāditya III (A.D. 844-92) is said to have "taken by force the gold of the Gaṅga king and received elephant as tribute from that country.[23] It is known from the Chola and the Eastern Chālukya history that the conflict with the Gaṅgas was continued even during the period of rule of the Greater or Imperial line of these rulers who were responsible to unite the whole of Orissa under one sceptre including Kaliṅga, Kosala, Oḍra and Utkala. We notice Eastern Chālukya and Chola influence in the epigraphical records as well as the coinage of the Gaṅgas. The Eastern Gaṅgas we know, are of South Indian origin, and they also claim to have hailed from Kolāhalapura (generally identified with modern Kolar in Karnataka) as those of the Western Gaṅgas of Karnataka region. They are known to have migrated from the South to Kaliṅga region and established several small kingdoms at first in this part of Orissa. It was from the time of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga, the kingdom of the Eastern Gaṅgas was expanded covering the whole of the modern boundary of Orissa and included the region upto the Gaṅgas in the north and Godāvarī in the South. It is known that the Imperial Gaṅgas of Orissa were matrimonially related to the Cholas and Kulottuṅga-Chola I was the maternal grandfather of Anantāvarman Choḍagaṅga. The Eastern Chālukyas, ruling Āndhra

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22. For the political history of the Early and Imperial Gaṅgas of Orissa see *HCIP*, Vol. III, pp. 215ff.; Vol. IV, pp. 140ff; and Vol. V, pp. 205ff. and for their epigraphical records see. *IO*, Vol. II; Vol. III, Part I and II, and Vol. V, Part I, II and III.
23. *HCIP*, Vol. V, p. 141.

country, contiguous to the Gaṅga kingdom, as proteges of the Cholas, were also matrimonially related to the Cholas. Thus the influence of the Chola-Chālukyan culture can very well be noticed in the Gaṅga epigraphical records as well as in their coinage. The so-called Gaṅga-*fanams* have close affinity with a type of gold *fanams*, illustrated by Elliot[24], so far as the general fabric and weight standard are concerned. The provenance recorded by him as well as the symbols shown on them would suggest that they were possibly issued by the Eastern Chālukyas of Veṅgi. The illustration by Elliot shows clearly on its obverse a symbol of *Varāha*, on the reverse, a *Nāgarī* letter *sa* and below it the Telugu-Kanarese numerals as on the Gaṅga-*fanams* presumably denoting regnal year of the issuer just as on the Gaṅga-*fanams*. It is also to be noted here that the Chola gold *fanams*[25], too have close similarity with Gaṅga-*fanams* so far as the system of depicting the symbols and numerals are concerned. One can very well notice the influence of these coins over each other from the same weight standard and their sizes having no wide difference. The Chola-*fanams* have on their obverse the fish and tiger, their dynastic crest like the *Varāha* of the Eastern Chālukyas and couchant bull of the Eastern Gaṅgas. Though the couchant bull symbol was adopted as the dynastic emblem by a number of earlier royal families of Orissa, such as the Śailodbhavas, the Bhaumakaras, the Bhañjas etc., these *fanams* cannot be attributed to these rulers in view of the fact that they had not the status to issue gold coins. We have also no evidence to show that these royal families issued coins of their own. Moreover, the southern influence as shown above and the use of later *Nāgarī* scripts of 12th-13th centuries on them do not support this vlew.

The symbol on the reverse of the Gaṅga-*fanams*, generally taken as the modern Oriya letter *sa*, is a contraction for the word *samvat*, denoting the regnal reckoning of the issuer of the coins. But this letter cannot be taken in its modern Oriya form which, as has been suggested by earlier scholars, is placed horizontally above the numerals denoting regnal years of the issuer. There is one interesting point to be observed that the letter *sa* has been written on the coins horizontally, i.e., in a different direction and the numerals below it in another. It is also to be noted, in this context thatt he legend *Śrī-Rāma* on one variety of the Gaṅga-*fanams* is written above this letter *sa* in the same direction as the numerals below it whereas the

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24. Cf. Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*, Plate III, No. 85 and also B. Chattopadhyaya, *Coins and Currency systems in South India*, p. 208, No. 77 and Plate II.

25. Eliiot, *Coins of Southern India*, Plate III, No. 130 and Plate IV, No. 156. Elliot mentions that these coins along with the *fanams* with boar symbol were found in Rajamahendri and "may be connected with Chola-Chālukya period", *Ibid*, p. 152.

sa is depicted horizontally.[26] There is no reason to believe that the legend and the numerical symbols are written in a type of scripts and numbers belonging to the period of 12th-13th centuries whereas the letter for *samvat* in its modern form. A close observation of a large number of published as well as unpublished Gaṅga-*fanams* would reveal some variations in the execution of this letter *sa*. The illustrations given by Hultzsch[27] and others as well as some unpublished pieces would show the letter carved somewhat like a *Nāgarī* letter *sa* of about 12th-13th centuries A.D. The curves and loops of its *Nāgarī* form are not to be seen in this letter. Sometimes the curve on the left serif indicates slightly of its *Nāgarī* form, whereas in most cases the curve on the left as well as the double loops of the *Nāgarī sa* have become straight and when joined to the top stroke of the letter it looks like a modern Oriya form of *sa*. Peculiarities in the form of letters on coins are due to their peculiar carving on the dies used by the mint-masters or the goldsmiths who were usually not well aware of the different forms of letters. Probably this was the reason for the peculiar appearance of the *Nāgarī sa* for the word *samvat* looking like the Oriya *sa* which was continued by different goldsmiths in minting for generations not knowing the exact significance of the symbol. The development of this letter into its modern Oriya form is only noticed in the later part of the 14th century, during the end of the Gaṅga rule[28] and the Gaṅga-*fanams* seem to have been introduced in Orissan market at a much earlier period. Thus it is not safe to comment on the development of the Oriya *sa* on the basis of this symbol and the evidence of these coins only, without considering the above facts.[29] S. C. De without going into details in this line has classified this letter found on these *fanams* into various groups according to the minute variations in its form, taking it to be a modern Oriya letter and comments that this letter "occurs for the first time in the inscriptions of the Sūryavaṁśī Gajapatis of Orissa, must have evolved out during the period between 1305-1434".[30]

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26. Cf. *JNSI*, Vol. V, Plate IV-B ; Vol. XL, Plate VI.
27. *IA*, Vol. XXV, 1896, Plate II, p. 322.
28. Cf. the Siddheswar temple inscription of the time of Gaṅga Narasimha IV, *EI*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 105ff and Plates.
29. P. C. Rath, in an extremely misleading paper in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. V, pp. 61-64, on the parimalgiri Hoard of the so-called Gaṅga-*fanams*, which he attributed to the Chauhān king Rāmadeva, took the letter *sa* flanked by the symbols of *Aṅkuśa* and *Kuṭhāra*, as a legend reading *Pāṭnā* and corrected it as *Pāṭanā*. The legend *Śrī-Rāma* above this symbol, induced him to conclude that these coins were issued by the Chauhān king Rāmadeva, the founder of the so-called Chauhān dynasty of Patna.
30. *JKHRS*, Vol. I, No. 4, p. 371.

Other scholars have also taken the letter as resembling Oriya *sa* and determined the date of the coins "to a date, not much earlier than the rise of the Sūryavaṁśīs of Orissa in the fifteenth century".[31] But if we minutely observe the symbol, it would clearly reveal that the letter is in fact a *Nāgarī sa* of 12th-13th centuries written in the same direction as the numerals and the legend, below and above it respectively which also belong to the same period.

Hoernle read on some of the Gaṅga-*fanams*, the legend in three letters referred to above, as *Śrī-Ga(ṁ)ga.*[32] Smith noticed only traces of some legend but could not decipher it.[33] M. M. Chakravarti read one coin having the legend *Śrī-Ana*, presumably abbreviated for *Śrī-Anaṅgabhīma.*[34] But it is interesting to note that, the legend read by both the above scholars is, in fact, *Śrī-Rāma* in the *Nāgarī* scripts resembling the letters in the copper plate charters of the Imperial Gaṅgas of Orissa. The significance of this legend has not yet been explained and not known whether the legend denoted the name of any issuer of these coins or simply a religious appellation referring to the mythological hero Rāma of the Rāmāyaṇa. It is to be noted in this context that these coins have been found all over Orissa in association with the Gaṅga-*fanams* having no legend. It is also to be noted that these coins do not show any variation in the arrangement of symbols either on the obverse or on the reverse excepting the above legend on the reverse. This would suggest that they were also issued by the same line of kings, the Gaṅgas of Imperial line. In the subsequent period, the Sūryavaṁśī Gajapatis seems to have adopted these *fanams* as their gold coinage as revealed by some of their epigraphical records. The history of the Gaṅga dynasty does not reveal any such powerful king with the name *Śrī-Rāma* to issue gold coins in his name, nor even in the succeeding royal family of the Sūryavaṁśīs do we find any ruler with this name who had the status to issue gold coinage. It is possible to think, in the absence of any ruler of this name, the religious appellation to the epic hero Rāma on these coins along with other religious symbols. It is known from the records of the Sūryavaṁśī Gajapatis that they assumed the epithets like *Sūryavaṁśāvalambana-stambha, Vaivasvata-Manu-Paramparā-prasūta Rāmachandra-charit-ālaṁkṛita, Vaivasvata-rāja-pranūta-raksha-daksha, Śrī-Rāmachandra-Charaṇālaṁkṛita* etc.[35] This may indicate that due to their

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31. D. C. Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins*, p. 247 and p. 251.
32. *JASB*, Vol. LXVI, 1897, pp. 144-45 and Plate VI, No. 26.
33. *Coins of Ancient India*, Vol. I, p. 315.
34. *JASB*, Vol. LXXII, 1903, p. 120.
35. C. V. Ramachandra Rao, *Administration and Society in Medieval Andhra*, 1976, p. 67.

devotion to the mythical Rāmachandra, the Sūryavaṁśī rulers who seem to have continued the issue of the *fanams* after the Gaṅgas, might have struck some of them with the legend *Śrī-Rāma* in order to distinguish them from the issues of the Gaṅgas. One interesting point to be noted here that the coins bear both Śaivite and Vaishṇavite devices, which seem to have some religious significance indicating religious learnings and affiliations both the Gaṅga and the Sūryavaṁśī dynasties. The Gaṅgas were originally followers of Śaivism and adopted Śaivite symbol of couchant bull as the royal emblem. This is represented in their coins and the royal seals attached to the copper plate grants issued by them. But later on they are known to have embraced Vaishṇavism and their epigraphical records reveal that they adopted an eclectic attitude towards both the religious creeds since atleast the time of Choḍagaṅga. Like the Gaṅgas, the Sūryavaṁśīs also continued an eclectic religious policy and assumed the religious titles of *Parama-vaishṇava* and *Paramamāheśvara* together with other titles like *Dūrgā-putra*, *Śrī-Purushottamaputra* and the epithets connected with the epic hero Śrī-Rāma stated earlier. It seems possible to think that the *fanams* bearing the original dynastic emblem of the Śaivite symbol together with some Vaishṇavite devices indicated the eclectic approach towards religion adopted by both Gaṅgas and the Sūryavaṁśīs.

The numerical symbols in Telugu-Kannaḍa found on these so-called Gaṅga-*fanams* are generally taken to be the regnal reckoning of the rulers who issued them. The numbers so far known on them, are from 2 to 59. These numerical figures are also noticed in several medieval records and particularly those of the imperial Gaṅgas of Orissa.[36] Some of them show their distinct modern Oriya form, for example, the numbers 4, 7, 8 and 9. The figure 5 shows midway between its modern Oriya form with two opposite curves, but separately written, whereas in its modern Oriya form the two curves are joined forming two loops. The figures for one shows the Telugu-Kannaḍa type while the number for 2 resembles the modern form of Telugu for the same. The figure for 3 is of the *Nāgarī* type of the medieval period sometimes showing slight variation. It is to be

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36. For the occurrence of some of these numerals see, Kendupatna Plates of Narasiṁha II, *JASB*, Vol. LXV, 1896, Part I, Plate VIII, left margin, Plate X left margin, Plate XII, left margin; *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, fifth plate reverse, left margin, line 170; Puri plates of Narasiṁha IV, Plate six, reverse and Plate seven, line 26 and 3; *EI*, XXVIII, p. 310 & Plate and also the left margin of the same plate; Puri plates of Bhānu II, *JRASB*, Letters, Vol. XVII, pp. 19-26 and Plate; Polasara Plates of Arkeśvaradeva; *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 63 and Plates.

noted here that the numerals like 1, 6, 16, 20, 26, 30, 36 and all other numbers followed by zero (except 10), are conspicuously absent on these coins, which would suggest that the numerical symbols were intended for the regnal years of the kings who issued them. This is also supported by the letter *sa* discussed above, denoting *samvat* for regnal year written just above the numerals. It is of course, not possible to assign at the present state of our knowledge any of these *janams* to a particular king of the Gaṅga family or of the Sūryavaṁśīs on the basis of these regnal reckonings. These royal families are known to have followed a system of calculating their regnal reckonings by omitting the numbers 1, 6, 16, 20, 26, 30, 36 and other numbers followed by 6 or zero which is popularly known as the *Aṅka* system of reckoning. The *Aṅka* is generally calculated from the 12th day of the bright fortnight of the month of *Bhādra* (August-September), which is known as *Suniyā* and regarded as the beginning of the new year in Orissa. It is said, according to the local tradition, that on this day every year the kings used to get struck gold coins in their name and distributed them to the Brahmins and also donate in charitable and religious works like construction of temples and their maintenance. Thus on every *Suniyā* day the gold coins struck with the regnal year of the reigning monarch came to be circulated in the market. For this reason, we come across so many numerals, struck according to the calculation of the traditional *Aṅka* system, with the abbreviation of *sa* for *samvat*, by the Gaṅgas and the Sūryavaṁśīs suggesting thereby that they were not struck by one king but a line of kings.

The epigraphical records of the Gaṅgas and the Sūryavaṁśī Gajapatis reveal the prevalance of several varieties of coins in gold and silver with apparent variations in their value and names. As it will be presently shown, not all these coins were issued by the above ruling families of Orissa, but at least some of them belonged to the rulers of other kingdoms, particularly of Southern India. The most common use of the coin-term to be found in their inscriptions is *māḍa* or *māḍha*. This term is a Dravidian word apparently derived from Sanskrit *māsha*. This is invariably used in the Tamil, Telugu, Kannaḍa and Malayalam languages and the epigraphical records of Southern India are abound with the different varieties of *māḍa* or *māḍai* coins. It was an unit of South Indian weight standard and applied to all types of coins of any metal which can be noticed from the identification of the varieties of coins associated with the term *māḍai* in the epigraphical records. Different kinds of *māḍa* coins are known, sometimes associated with names of the issuers, such as *Kulottuṅga-māḍa*[37], *Malla-māḍa*[38], *Malla-Nandi-māḍa*[39], *Gandhavāraṇa-*

37. *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 1052.
38. *Ibid*, Vol. VI, Nos. 932, 1179, etc.
39. *SII*, Vol. VI, No. 1180 dated Śaka 1138.

māḍa[40], *Gaṇḍahasti-māḍa*[41], *Uttamagaṇḍa-māḍa*[42], *Rājarāja-māḍa.*[43] These coin names would suggest that the *māḍa* was applied to coins in the general sense of the term as in the case of *ṭaṅka.* They would also suggest that they did not belong to any particular period or to any particular dynasty. It is now a well-known fact that coins of high metallic value of different dynasties and of different period were in circulation in the market and passed as currency throughout India. For this reason only, we come across so many coin-names, not of Orissan rulers as clear from their names, in Orissan inscriptions. The Alagum inscription of the time of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga contains some of the coin-names of North Indian origin such as *churṇi* and *purāṇa.*[44] One hundred *churṇis* added by five *purāṇas* were granted by an officer named Kāmaṇḍi under the Gaṅga monarch Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga, in favour of the village deity of Alagum near Puri. *Churṇi* here indicates possibly to cowrie-shells which were also in circulation along with coined money and *purāṇa* denoting the silver punch-marked coins, which would suggest that these ancient coins were in circulation in Orissa even as late as 11th century. It is known from several early medieval inscriptions of Orissa, that these *purāṇas* or silver punch-marked coins were current as bullion and calculated in *pala* weight standard, and popularly known as *rūpya* coins.[45] The coin-names like *Kulottuṅga-māḍa*, *Uttamagaṇḍamāḍa* indicate that they were issued by the Chola kings with the names of Kulottuṅga I and Uttama Chola respectively. An inscription in the Lakshmī-Narasiṁha temple at Simhachalam (Andhra Pradesh), refers to *Rājanārāyaṇa-gadya,* evidently same as *Kulottuṅga-māḍa.* Kulottuṅga I of the Chola-Chālukya dynasty was also known by the Rājanārāyaṇa as revealed by his

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40. *Ibid,* Vol. IV, No. 232, dated Śaka 1089. This is found in the inscriptions of the Telugu regions.
41. *Ibid,* Vol. IV. No. 234.
42. *Ibid,* Vol. IV, Nos. 208 dated Śaka 1034.
43. *JKHRS,* Vol. I, No. 2, p. 152. This coin-name is found in the Chola epigraphs of Telugu and Tamil regions.
44. *EI,* Vol. XXIX, pp. 45-46. D. C. Sircar has taken both the words *churṇi* and *purāṇa* mentioned in this inscription, to have been used in the sense of cowrie-shells, the total amount granted was 134,400 cowries. Although, it seems, both the terms, denoting coins in metal, were used as synonymous of cowrie-shells in old mathematical works and the lexicoins and some times calculated in terms of cowrie-shells, there is no reason to believe, that the payment was always made in the cowrie-shells, in early and medieval period, especially when we notice so many coin names in the epigraphical records that were prevalent during the period under discussion.
45. See Chapter I.

epigraphs and gold coins.[45a] *Malla-māḍa* was possibly named after the Western Chālukya kings of Kalyāṇa Jayasiṁha-Jagadekamalla I or Jagadekamalla II. Other rulers of this dynasty also assumed royal titles like Trailokyamalla assumed by Someśvara I and Bhuvanaikamalla by Someśvara II, all of them issued gold coins with these royal titles as coin-legend.[46] *Malla-nandi-māḍa* and *Gaṇḍahasti-māḍa* were probably named after the symbols depicted on these coins. Though the actual specimens identical with *Malla-nandi-māḍa* are still wanting, *Gaṇḍahasti-māḍa* may be identified with the so-called Gajapati-*pagodas* of the Karnataka region, having the figure of an ornamented elephant on the obverse and floral design on the reverse.[47] As regards *Gandhavāraṇa-māḍa,* it is interesting to note that one of the well-known epithets of the generals and subordinates of the Western Chālukyas was *Ayyanagandhavāraṇa.* The Telugu-Choḍa rulers, ruling from Suvarṇapura (modern Sonepur in Bolangir district in Orissa) are also known to have assumed this title.[48] Another similar epithet as known from the South Indian epigraphical records was *Jātanagandhavāraṇa.* It seems, this *māḍa* coin was named after one of the subordinates of the Chālukyas having the above title and who issued coins in his name. This probably denoted a copper coin. An inscription of the time of the Imperial Gaṅgas in the temple of Madhukeśvara refers to one Śrī-Bhāratī Śrī-Jayanātha, son of *Māṇḍalika* Gandhavāraṇa whose epithet was *Brahma-Chakravarti.*[49] He was possibly a Commander-in-Chief who served both Rājarāja and his son Choḍagaṅga. Several Gaṅga inscriptions refer to a coin named *Surabhi-māḍa*[50], which was probably named after the family name of the rulers of Yantarnāḍu or Jantarnāḍu (Jaṁtarunāṁṭi, written in Telugu inscriptions), who are known to have belonged to *Surabhi-kula* (family). Gaṅgarāja or Vīragaṅgarāja of *Surabhi-kula,* ruler of Yantarnāḍu is referred to in the inscriptions as to have donated 5 *māḍas* for religious services to the temple of Lakshmī-Narasiṁha at Simhachalam. *Surabhi-māḍa* is

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45a. *SII,* Vol. VI, No. 1205 ; *IO,* Vol. V, Part III, p. 1036 and *IA,* Vol. XXV ; (1896), p. 321.

46. B. D. Chattopadhyaya, *Coins and Currency systems in South India,* pp. 35-36 and pp. 209-215 and Plates II and III. There is a type of small gold coin with the *Nāgarī* legend *Yuddha malla* weighing 6.5 to 7.0 grams as referred to by Vidya Prakash, which are found in Chola kingdom, it is taken as 1/10th of a *māḍai*-coinage of South India, *Numismatic Notes and Monographs* No. 14, Varanasi, p. 78.

47. See Chapter XI.

48. *EI,* Vol. XXVIII, p. 290 and Note 7. The coin named after *Gandhavāraṇa* was a currency in the Telugu regions as known from the inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, *JNSI,* Vol. XXX, p. 123.

49. *IO,* Vol. III, Part I, p. 40 and Note 1.

50. *SII,* Vol. VI, No. 713 ; *AR,* No. 251 of 1899 of Śaka 1207 ; *SII,* Vol. VI, No. 725 ; *AR,* 253-F of 1899 of Śaka 1290, etc.

sometimes mentioned in the epigraphs as *Surabhi-gadya* or *Surabhi-gadyāṇa*.[51] Similarly the *Tyāgī-māḍa* or *Tyāgī-gadya* or *Gadyāṇa*[52] occurring in the inscriptions may presumably be taken as the coins issued by the Tyāgīs or Chāgis of Guḍimeṭṭa, the feudatories of the Velanāṇḍu Choḍas. These coins named after some of the royal families would suggest that some of the feudatories ruling under the Gaṅgas, the Cholas were empowered to issue coins. Although the identification of the actual specimens with these coin-names still remains uncertain, a large number of gold and copper coins of uncertain attribution have come to the notice of scholars which have been discovered in different part of South India.[53] Other interesting coin-names of South India occurring in the Gaṅga epigraphs are *Amṛitabhujula-malla-māḍa*[54], Bhujavala-*māḍa*[55], Poli or Proli-*māḍa* (denoting the Prola-*māḍa* of South Indian epigraphs). It is to be noted here that *Bhujavala* was a popular royal title assumed by the Telugu-Choḍas of Nellore, the Saronāthas or the Kolanu rulers of the Godāvarī deltaiç area.[56] It seems this title was exclusively used by the Telugu-Choḍas of South India and it is interesting to note that one of the Kalachuri epigraphs of Ratanpur branch[57] refers to the defeat of one Bhujavala, the lord of Suvarṇapura (modern Sonepue, in Bolangir district in Orissa), evidently, indicating the Telugu-Choḍa ruler of Sonepur, Someśvara I or II, whose family owed allegiance to the Sindas or the Chhindaka Nāgas of Chakrakoṭṭa and said to have migrated from the Sonth where a number of Telugu-Choḍa chiefs flourished in different parts of the Cuddapah, Anantapur and Kurnool districts.[58] It seems probable that the coins designated as *Amṛita-Bhujula* (*Bhujavala*)-*māḍa* and *Bhujavala-māḍa* denoted the coins issued by these Telugu-Choḍa chiefs of the South. The *Proli* or *Prola-māḍa*[59], which is also found in South Indian epigraphs may, perhaps denote the coins (perhaps copper coins) named after Prola II who is known to be first independent king of the Kākatīya dynasty of Warangal.[60] Although we have not yet come across any coin bearing the name of Prola, some copper coins of the Kākatīyas are now known to have been discovered in the vicinity of Warangal[61],

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51. *SII*, Vol. VI, No. 1178 ; *AR*, No. 365-XI of 1899.
52. *Ibid*, No. 1166 and 1177 ; *AR*, No. 364 and No. 365-X of 1899 ; No. 713 of 1920.
53. B. D. Chattopadhyaya, *Coins & Currency system in South India*, pp. 88-100.
54. *SII*, Vol. VI, Nos. 751, 752, 896, 845, 1180.
55. *AR*, Nos. 586, 1907 ; No. 36 of 1919 ; No. 311 of 1929.
56. *JNSI*, Vol. XXX, p. 125.
57. See Chapter VII.
58. *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 290. Some of these chiefs are known to be the feudatories of the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa.
59. *SII*, Vol. V, No. 1188 ; *AR*, No. 307 of 1856 ; *JASB* (1903), No. 2, p. 120.
60. *HCIP*, Vol. V, p. 199.
61. See Appendix V.

which may be taken as the same coin mentioned in the epigraphs as Prola-*māḍa*. Epigraphical and literary records often attribute coins issued by different rulers of a particular royal family, to a prominent personality of the same family, as per example, coins of the Yādava rulers, attributed to Siṅghaṇa in the *Dravya Parīkshā* by Ṭhakkura Pheru.[62]

Apart from the above coin-names of South Indian origin, we come across a number of names denoting silver currency of the Muslim kings of Delhi in the Gaṅga and Sūryavaṁśī epigraphs. Thus a coin-name frequently found and written as *Śāśukāni-ṭaṅkā*[63], actually denoted the billon coin issued by the Sultans of the Tughluk dynasty, called *Sashghani*, which was six *Jitals* in value (48 *Jitals* were regarded as equal to one silver coin called *ṭaṅkā*).[64] This coin was widely popular during the time of Muhammad-bin-Tughluk (1325-51 A.D.) and Firuz Shah (1351-88 A.D.) and regarded as equal to 1/8th of a Sultani *ṭaṅkā*. The silver coins, perhaps denoting these Muslim coins; are found mentioned in the later Gaṅga epigraphs, as *ṭaṅka-māḍa*.[65] Sometimes, the word *Veṇḍi* indicating silver is found associated with the coin-name *ṭaṅkā*.[66] It may be pointed out here that, these coin-names indicating the silver coins of the Muslim Sultans, are found in the later Gaṅga and the Sūryavaṁśī epigraphs belonging to 13th century and in the subsequent period, when the frequent Muslim invasions from Delhi as well as Bengal had considerably influenced the currency system of Orissa. The silver currency of the Muslims had then become popular along with the gold *māḍas*, which are very often mentioned as *pahiṇḍi* (gold)-*māḍas* or *pahiṇḍi-gadya*[67] of different kingdoms of South India. Another term called *Padmanidhi* associated with different coin-names, such as, *Padmanidhi-malla-māḍa*[68], *Padmanidhi-veṇḍi-ṭaṅkā*[69] are mentioned in the

62. *Num. Dig.*, Vol. IV, Part I, pp. 29ff.
63. SII, Vol. VI, No. 946 ; *AR*, No. 305-C of 1899 ; *SII*, Vol. VI, No. 1070 ; *AR*, No. 332-LX of 1899 etc.
64. Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins*, p. 66.
65. *SII*, Vol. VI, No. 1188, No. 1204 ; *AR*, No. 365-XVI of 1899 and 365-XXXVII of 1899 ; see also Chapter XII.
66. *SII*, Vol. VI, Nos. 946, 1013, 1091 ; *AR*, No. 305-C of 1899, 332-III of 1899, 342 of 1899.
67. *SII*, Vol. VI, No. 728 Vols. V, No. 1344 ; 1236 ; *AR*, No, 256 of 1899 ; No. 354 of 1896 ; No. 388 of 1896, etc.
68. *SII*, Vol. VI, No. 756 ; *AR*, No. 270-C of 1899.
69. *SII*, Vol. VI, No. 1043, No. 846 ; *AR*, No. 332-XXXIII and 286-A of 1899, *Padmanidhi-gaṇḍa-māḍa*, *SII*, Vol. VI, No. 1060 ; *AR*, 332-L of 1899 ; *Padmanidhi-Śāśukāni-ṭaṅkā*, *Ibid*, Vol. VI, No. 1110 ; *AR*, No. 347-C of 1899 etc.

epigraphs in connection with temple services, perhaps used in the sense of a sacred deposit of coined money in the temple treasury. The coin-name *āchchu* of the Tamil literature, which was in circulation in Tamil region is also found in the Gaṅga epigraphs of Orissa and variously spelt as *archchha-māḍa* and *āchcha-māḍa*[70] etc. These are known to be of small coins of 5 to 6 grains in weight which are taken to be the so-called *paṇams* or *fanams*.[71]

Thus from the above discussion it can be assumed that the term *māḍa* was used in a broader sense for coined money of different regions, circulated in Orissan market. In most cases, a type of coin has been mentioned not by its type name, but by any of the broader names, *māḍa, gadya* or *gadyāṇa, nishka* or *gaṇḍa-nishka, gaṇḍa-māḍa* etc. Sometimes only the metal of the coins is specified as *veṇḍi-ṭaṅka* (Silver *ṭaṅka*). The term *gaṇḍa-māḍa* possibly denoted a gold coin. In some bilingual inscriptions of the Gaṅgas, *gaṇḍa-māḍa* in Telugu has been interpreted as *Gaṇḍa-nishka* in the Sanskrit part of the text. Inscriptions in the Lakshmī-Narasiṁha temple at Simhachalam also mention *dināra* (and sometimes *gaṇḍa-dināra*) in Sanskrit and the same number of *gaṇḍa-māḍa* in Telugu text[72] which would also suggest that the word *gaṇḍa* associated with the coin-names *māḍa, nishka, dināra* indicated gold coins, *gaṇḍa-māḍa* or *gaṇḍa-nishka* etc. are found invariably mentioned in number sometimes in plural (*gaṇḍa-māḍalu*) or in Sanskrit *suvarṇa-māḍa-pañchakam*, (five *suvarṇa-māḍas*) apparently indicating coined money and not bullion in weight.

Besides, the above coin-names, we come across in the Gaṅga epigraphs, another name called *chinnā* or *chinna* mentioned in plural as *chinnalu* in Telugu. Sometimes, it is also written as *chanu* or *chinu-gaṇḍa-māḍa* and in Sanskrit, it is written

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70. *SII*, Vol. VI, No. 868; *AR*, No. 288 of 1899; *IMP*, Vol. III, p. 1679, No. 116.
71. But gold coins of higher weight, such as the so-called *Padma-ṭaṅkas* of the Yādavas of Devagiri of higher weight have also been referred to as *hem-āchchhu* or *āchchhus* of gold by Ṭhakkura Pheru, the mint master under the Delhi Sultanate, in his Prakrit work *Dravya-Parīkshā*, cf. *Numismatic Digest*, Vol. IV, Part I, p. 31 and also Chapter X, also cf. *ānai-āchchu* or the so-called Gajapati-*Pagodas* of Karnataka in Chapter XI.
72. *SII*, Vol. VI, No. 894, No. 775; *AR*. No. 289-J and 273, P. of 1899; *IO*, Vol. V, Part II, p. 618ff. An inscription of the Śaka year 1155 (1233 A.D.) of the time of Aniyankabhīma II, in the Bhīmaśvara temple at Draksharam (East Godavari District), mentions *baṅgāra-gadyāṇa*, evidently denoting a gold coin; *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 1252; *IO*, Vol. V, Part I, p. 105.

as *chinhuka* (*chinhuka-daśakam*, ten numbers of *chinhukas*).[73] In Telugu *chinnā* denoted small in size, *chanu* being its corrupt form and *chiru* meant comparatively small. Another name found in the epigraphs as *chāmara-māḍa*[74], which was probably same as *chinnā*, as it can be noticed from their relative weight standard and value. This *chinnā* or *chinnam* is no other than the *paṇam* or *fanam* in gold weighing 5 to 7 grains. Their reference in the Gaṅga epigraphs, possibly denoted the so-called Gaṅga-*fanams*, actual specimens of which have been abundantly found throughout Orissa. Literary record such as the *Mādalā-Pāñji*, the temple chronicle shows that 10 *chinnās* made one *māḍa* and 20 *chinnās* were equal to 80 *ratis* or one *tolā* of gold. This calculation is still prevalent among the old people in certain parts of Orissa[75]. Thus one *chinnā* was equal to 4 *ratis* or two *mañjāḍis*, and the $\frac{1}{10}$th weight of a *māḍa* of 40 *ratis*, at least theoretically. Some later Gaṅga epigraphs also revealed that several varieties of *china* or *paṇa* coins having specific names were in circulation atleast in certain parts of Orissa, comprising within ancient Kaliṅga. The inscriptions in the Lakshmī-Narasiṁha temple at Simhachalam (now in Andhra Pradesh), belonging to the Śaka years 1208 and 1210 refer to *Oḍukuprāntamala-chinnā* with its $\frac{1}{4}$th fraction called *padika*.[75a] Another specific variety is mentioned in the epigraphs as *Malla-chinnā*, which may presumably be identified with the gold *panams* or *fanams* of the Chālukyas of Veṅgi, found in different parts of the present Andhra Pradesh.[75b] The actual specimens of these varieties of *chinnā* coins, however, have not come to the notice of the scholars in Orissa, although, possibility of their finds in the area where the inscriptions have been incised, cannot be ruled out. The *chinnās* had different denominations of 1/2 and 1/4 of *fanams* of the actual specimens of which have been discovered in Orissa and discussed above. These

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73. *SII*, Vol. V, No. 1243, Vol. VI, No. 1198, No. 1060 ; *AR*, No. 361 of 1896, 365-XXXI of 1899, 332-L of 1899. South Indian inscriptions refer to several varieties of *chinnams* with specific names attached to them such as *Nagartila-Chinnamu, Oḍukuprāntamala-chinnamu, Peddā-chinnamu* (big *chinnam*) cf. Chattopadhyaya, *Coins and Currency Systems in South India*, p. 165.

74. *AR*, No. 227 of 1887, of Śaka 1060.

75. *JKHRS*, Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 152-53.

75a. *SII*, Vol. VI, No. 885 ; *IO*, Vol. V, Part I, pp. 248-49. This inscription also refers to the coin-name *Oḍuku-gaṇḍamāḍa*, presumably a gold coin of South Indian origin, but at the present state it is difficult to identify it with actual coin which is not yet known to have been discovered in Orissa.

75b. *SII*, Vol. VI, No. 936 ; *IO*, Vol. V, Part I, pp. 224-25. *Malla-chinna* has been mentioned both in the Telugu and Sanskrit versions of the epigraph.

smaller denominations are popularly known as *chamaries* or *chamaras* till recent times.[76] Some South Indian inscriptions suggest that 10 *paṇas* were equal to one *māḍa* or one *kālañju* or *nishka*[77], and this calculation seems to have been adopted in Orissa, atleast during the Gaṅga reign and continued in the subsequent peried as indicated by the *Mādalā-Pāñji* which states 10 *chinnās* (equal to 10 *paṇas*) was equal to one *māḍa*. This would suggest that the South Indian weight system was followed here, as the coins are also of Southern origin. The term *chinnā* is very often found mentioned in the Gaṅga epigraphs in association with *māḍa* (*china-māḍa*), both being different units of value of the theoretical *māḍa* weight standard. Apparently it may denote a general term for coined money with a particular unit of weight.

Despite the impressive varieties of coins circulating in Orissa in the 12th-13th centuries, our knowledge relating to the question of value relationship between them is extremely inadequate. Since *māḍa* in most cases, has been used in a general sense of the term, the metal of the coin is difficult to determine as *māḍa* denoted all types of metallic money referred to in different context. Moreover, the inter-relationship between the gold, silver and copper currencies, is too difficult to determine. Only the occasional reference to more specific coin-terms helps us to some extent, to know the actual working of the currency system and their denominations. As for the denominations, we come across in the Gaṅga epigraphs, only of two i.e., *māḍa* and *chinnā* the value relationship of which has been referred to above. Some Tamil sources mention 1/80th of a *madai*[78], which is no other than the *chāmara* or *chiru-gaṇḍa-māḍa* of our records. The different denominations of *māḍa* such as three-fourth of a *māḍai* as is frequently referred to in Andhra or Tamil epigraphs has not yet been found in Orissan inscriptions. On the other hand, the only known denomination, corresponding to the actual coin weights is that of the *paṇa* or *chinnā* which is one-fourth of a *māḍa*. Some inscriptions of the Telugu-

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76. The report on the antiquities of Chowduar submitted by S. Pattnaik as referred to in the article by P. Mukherji in *JKHRS*, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 154, also information obtained from a letter of the Collector, Cuttack, to the Orissa State Museum authority (No. 647 dated 21.2.56, Misc. Case No. 58 of 1954-55) which shows that the small pieces, smaller than the usual size Gaṅga-*fanams* found at Chowduar, as Treasure Trove and deposited in the Museum are known at Chowduar as *chamaries*.

77. B. D. Chattopadhyaya, *Coins and Currency systems in South India*, p. 134.

78. B. D. Chattopadhyaya, *Coins and Currency systems in South India*, p. 136.

region mention *Peddā* (big)-*chinnamu*[79] which possibly denoted the usual size *fanams* weighing 5 to 7 grains and the usual size Gaṅga-*fanams* also represent in this denomination. The actual finds of other smaller denominations of the *chinnā* have already been mentioned above.

The actual specimens of the different South Indian gold coins termed as *māḍa*, *gadyāṇa pon*, *nishka* or *gaṇḍa-nishka* etc. in the epigraphs irrespective of the type of the coin, seem to suggest one major denomination of a standard weight of *māḍa* apparently denoting the theoretical weight of 40 *ratis*. But they show fluctuations in this weight standard, although they have been termed *māḍa*. The *māḍa* coins with specific terms attributed to different rulers such as *Kulottuṅga-māḍa*, *Rājarāja-māḍa*, *Tyāgī-māḍa*, etc. do not always correspond theoretically to the weight of a *māḍa*. The actual specimens of the *fanams* or *chinnams* also, do not always correspond to the theoretical weight and vary from 5 to 7.5 grains. The theoretical weight of the *fanam* has been fixed at 4 *ratis* or two *mañjāḍis*. Some South Indian epigraphs refer to a coin as *kalañju*, apparently named after the basic theoretical weight mentioned earlier and which was taken to be equal to 10 *paṇaṭukkam*.[80] It has been mentioned in most cases, as identical with *nishka*, *pon* or *māḍa*, indicating a coin in general sense, weighing apparently 40 to 50 *ratis*. It is noticed from the weight of different coins, that there is no connection with the fixed weight standard of *kalañju* or *māḍa* or those of the *paṇams*. It is also noticed that the theoretical weight of *kalañju* or *mañjāḍi* varied from place to place and even from different local goldsmiths. The coin term *kalañju* its weight in Tamil inscriptions also does not seem to be equal with the fixed weight standard of *kalañju*. It seems, the relationship of coins with names of these basic weight standards, was that of value rather than of weight as it can be noticed from a reference in an inscription which mentions 64 current *kāśus* were equal to 20 *kalañjus* and eight *mañjāḍis* of gold, at the rate of 7 *mañjāḍis* of each *kāśu*.[81] It would suggest that there was not a single theoretically fixed and precise standard in any part of South India and in Orissa which also followed the South Indian currency systems of *paṇam* during 12th-13th centuries

79. *Ibid*, p. 165. It may be pointed out here that except the *fanams* and their smaller denominations, no other coins of the Gaṅgas of Orissa nor those of the Sūryavaṁśīs are so far known, though their epigraphs are full of references to various types of coins which belong to other kingdoms of both North and Southern India. It seems, the value of these coins of other regions were determined according to the existing value of the metal and calculated on the basis of the fixed weight standard then prevalent in Orissa, which followed the South Indian weight system during this period.

80. Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*, p. 47.

81. *SII*, Vol. III, p. 114.

A.D. Earlier, scholars, have worked out as many as five standards believed to be current in South India[82], but it is not known if they were current simultaneously or in different periods of history. It is probable to think that the weight standard fluctuated according to the change in the value of different metals, particularly of gold and according to locality. The different denominations of *paṇams* or *fanams*, also do not seem to conform to any fixed weight standard, as their actual weights roughly represent 1/2 and 1/4 *fanams*. It is probable that the value of a particular coin was calculated on the basis of the theoretical weight standard, in order to maintain the balance of value relationship, though the actual weight between individual coins and the value of the metal varied from place to place.

82. Elliot, *Op. cit.*, p. 47, p. 52 and Note 2.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE GAJAPATI PAGODA

A group of gold coins of fine artistic execution, very often found in different parts of South India, particularly in Karnataka region, are popularly known among the scholars as *Gajapati-pagodas*. They are so named because of the representation of a caparisoned elephant on their obverse and the denomination *pagoda* was given by the Europeans derived from *Pagodi* which is a South Indian corruption of Sanskrit *Bhagavatī*, the 'Mother goddess'.[1] According to Prinsep, as quoted by G. Bidie, "it is a Portuguese appellation derived from the pyramidal temple depicied on one side of it".[2] The *pagodas* are generally known in South India as *varāha*. Although the *pagodas* or *varāhas* are so named because the figure of deities or their temples occurring in some of the South Indian gold coins, the so-called *Gajapati-pagodas* do not contain may such figure of *Bhagavatī* or any other deities.

There are differences of opinions among the scholars relating to the dynastic affiliation of the so-called *Gajapati-pagodas* as well as their relative chronology. Earlier numismatists like Bidie[3], Rapson[4], Brown[5], believed that these coins were issued by the Gaṅga kings of Orissa. Their belief was based on the representation of the device of *Gaja* or elephant on these coins and that the Gaṅgas of Orissa were called the Gajapatis who used the elephant symbol. They also believed that the Cheras of Koṅgudeśa comprising western part of Mysore State and the modern districts of Salem and Coimbatore, who fled to Orissa and established there as the Gaṅgas during 9th to 11th centuries A.D. These Gaṅgas issued the Elephant *pagodas* which Harshadeva of Kashmir (C. A.D. 1089) copied. V. A. Smith doubtfully assigned these coins to be the Orissan issues belonging to about 13th century A.D.[6] Elliot attributed them to Koṅgu country but did not assign them to any

1. *JASB*, Vol. LII (1883), pp. 40ff.
2. *Ibid*, pp. 34ff.
3. *Ibid*, pp. 40ff.
4. *Indian Coins*, 1898, Plate V, No. 12, p. 36.
5. *Coins of India*, 1922, p. 6.
6. *CCIM*, Vol. I, p, 318.

particular dynasty.[7] R. D. Banerji suggested that these coins were issued by the Sūryavaṁśī Gajapati king Kapilendra (1435-67 A.D.).[8]

But the above views of the scholars about the attribution of the so-called Gajapati-*pagodas* are not based on convincing grounds and they are no longer believed to be the issues of the Eastern Gaṅgas nor of the Sūryavaṁśī Gajapati kings of Orissa. Again, H. Heras attributed them to Mallikārjuna, the Vijayanagar emperor who ruled from 1449 A.D. to 1467 A.D. and a contemporary of Kapilendradeva, the Sūryavaṁśī king of Orissa.[9] The informations on these coins supplied by him show that they are found frequently all over Karnataka, especially in the Dharwar and Bellary districts and popularly known as *Anegoṇḍi* or Gajapati coins in these regions, because of the depiction of an elephant on them. According to him, these coins are similar in shape to Vijayanagar coins and the design of the elephant on them closely resembles to those depicted in the temples of Vijayanagar. He also suggested a late date for these coins on account of the techniques employed in their manufacturing.

Before discussing the recent theories propounded by different writers, it would be better to give the description and their discoveries particularly in Orissa. In fact, the coins under discussion, have been rarely found here, whereas they are found in abundance all over Karnataka. Only two coins of this type are so far known in Orissa the exact findspot or their history of discovery are not being clearly recorded. These two coins are now preserved in Orissa State Museum, at Bhubaneswar. Most probably, they were collected for the Museum on the basis of gift from Indian Museum, Calcutta, on the belief of their attribution to the Gajapati kings of Orissa, As P. Mukherji says, "Gajapati pagoda is not yet found in Utkala. It is also not found in any part of the large kingdom of the Gajapatis (which extended upto the river Pennar in the South), north of Koṇḍaviḍu in the Guntur district, where 5 such gold coins are recently found".[10] These coins have been variously illustrated by numismatists and different varieties and denominations on the basis of variation in the devices depicted have also been elaborately dealt with.[11] The general description of the devices on the obverse and reverse of these coins may be as follows :

Obverse : A large caparisoned tusker elephant standing to right, ornamented,

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7. *Coins of Southern India*, pp. 116-117, Plate III, Nos. 118-119. He mentions that these coins are known as *ānai-kāśu*, *ānai-mitti* or *Gajapati-kāśu* which are found both in the form of *huns* and *fanams*.
8. *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 304.
9. *JASB* (*NS*), No. XLIV, for 1931-33, pp. 17ff and Plate I, Nos. 4-8.
10. *JKHRS*, Vol, I, No. I, p. 157.
11. *JASB* (*NS*), No. XLIV, 1931-33, pp. 20 N. & Plate I, Nos. 4-8 ; M. H. Krishna, *Ann. Rep. of the Mysore Arch. Dept.* for 1939, pp. 97-100.

with long trunk hanging down, floral ornamentation on each side of the trunk, above the elephant's back there seems to be incised one or two letters in Kanarese characters reading on some of the coins as *teva* or *deva* and others having letters like *ka*, *cha* or *ha* etc. Some of the coins also appear to be uninscribed.

Reverse : A complex floral design occupying the whole of the space on the reverse. Some of the coins as revealed by the illustrations, show some minute variations in the design.[12]

The coins generally weigh 58 or 59 grains (3.823 gms.) in weight but their sizes vary from 1.2 cm. to 1.3 cm. Heras[13] and Elliot[14] also mention some of the *janams* of this type, bearing an elephant device on the obverse. M. H. Krishna[15] and Heras have described different varieties of these coins on the basis of its number of garlands depicted on the elephant's neck and also on the variation of the floral design on the reverse. But this classification of varieties of these coins is not convincing as to determine their denominations, because they reveal a reasonable degree of uniformity in the weight standard as well as in fabric.

The slight variations which are noticed frequently in the depiction of the floral design as well as of the elephant on many of the coins of this type may be due to their manufacturing by different goldsmiths who were entrusted with minting gold coins in early times. Moreover, it is to be noted that not all of these coins were minted in one particular period, some of them being manufactured in a late period as will be shown below. The slight variations of designs also indicate the use of different dies employed in manufacturing these coins. It is also possible to think that sometimes, the goldsmiths who were entrusted with manufacturing of gold coins copied the designs in the absence of original dies, and instance of which can be noticed in one of the specimens preserved in the Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar.

The two gold coins preserved in the Orissa Museum are of same size, of 1.3 cm. each and in their weight also they do not differ widely from each other. The coin No. 1 (Plate L, Fig. 2) from the fine execution of the devices depicted on it appears to be an original issue. But the coin No. 2 (of the same Plate) is evidently a crude imitation of the first. The coin No. 1 shows the usual devices found generally in other Gajapati-*pagodas* i.e. a caparisoned standing elephant facing right and ornamented with floral designs in front and above the back of the animal and on the reverse the usual scroll or floral design. But the coin. No. 2 shows some peculiarities in the depiction of the above devices. The standing elephant on the

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12. Smith has described the scroll device, "possibly intended either for foliage or a peacock's tail", *CCIM*, Vol. I, No. 1. p. 318.
13. *JASB* (*NS*), No. XLIV, 1931-33, Plate I, p. 22.
14. *Op.Cit.*, pp. 116 and 152.
15. *Ann. Rep. of the Mysore Arch. Dept.* for 1939, pp. 97-100.

obverse is indistinctly curved without ornamentation and it faces left instead of right as is usually found. The reverse device is very much indistinct which clearly shows that it was an unsuccessful attempt to copy the designs from the original without the help of the original die. The coin No. 118, illustrated by Elliot also appears to be a crude imitation without the original die which can easily be distinguished from the coin No. 119 of the same Gajapati-*pagoda*.[16] The standing elephant depicted on it, distinctly differs from usual device and the scroll design shown on the reverse is also a crude one and differs widely from the usual artistic execution of the design, if one minutely observes the two coins illustrated by Elliot. The elephant depicted in the coin No. 118 illustrated by Elliot, is small in size and its full figure is shown where as the elephant in No. 119 is bigger in size covering the whole space, not fully depicted and more ornamented which is the usual characteristic of the original specimens. As observed by Smith, that these coins were frequently forged[17], can very well be gleaned from the illustrations given by numismatists.

A brass imitation of the so-called Gajapati-*pagoda* preserved in the National Museum of Copenhagen, has been illustrated by B. D. Chattopadhyaya.[18] He is not sure of it as a dynastic issue, but on the degenerated type of the reverse design showed on its reverse, he suggests a late date of its issue. He has also observed that the weight standard of this coin is slightly less than those of the gold *pagodas*. It is not yet known, whether brass coins imitated from the so-called Gajapati-*pagodas* were issued by any dynasty and cannot be concluded on the discovery of a single brass coin in imitation of the genuine gold issues of a particular dynasty, that it it was also in circulation as currency. In the absence of any evidence of its circulation in any region of South India as currency, it may be suggested that it was a forged coin intended to circulate it along with the genuine pieces by dishonest moneyers. This imitation coin may be taken to have manufactured either in the period of minting of genuine Gajapati-*pagodas* or it may be a modern forgery. But the imitations of these coins in gold mentioned above may belong to a later period when the minting of the genuine issues by a particular dynasty were stopped after its downfall, as in the case of the Kushāṇa and Gupta coins.

Kalhaṇa, the well-known chronicler of Kashmir mentions in his *Rājataraṅgiṇī* that king Harsha (1089-1101 A.D.) of Kashmir issued coins in imitation of the coins

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16. Cf. Elliot, *Op.Cit.*, Plate III, Nos. 118 and 119.

17. *CCIM*, Vol. I, p 318 and Note 1 ; G. Bidie also observed though in a confusing way, "In Southern India copies of the Gajapati-*pagodas* are scarce and dear, but at Bangalore fictitious coins are made according to demand, with such ingenuity that it is by no means easy to distinguish the real from the false", *JASB*, Vol. LII, 1883, pp. 40ff.

18. *JASB*, Vol. XIII, 1971, pp. 167-169 and Plate.

current in Karṇāṭa.[19] One of the coin-types of Harshadeva is corroborated by the actual specimens published by Cunningham[20] and Rapson[21] have the elephant on the obverse like the so-called Gajapati-*pagodas*, but on their reverse, instead of the floral design, they have two lines *Nāgarī* legend giving the ruler's name. It is to be noted that Kalhaṇa specifically mentions Karṇāṭa and not Kaliṅga as the minting area of the coins which Harshadeva of Kashmir imitated for his own.

Scholars such as M. H. Krishan[22], B. D. Chattopadhyaya[23] and A. V. N. Murthy[24] ascribe the elephant *pagodas* to the Western Gaṅgas who dominated the political scene of Karnataka for a considerable length of time since about 5th century of the Christian era. According to them, the Western Gaṅgas had the dynastic emblem of an elephant, as this device is also shown on the seals of their copper plate charters which has striking similarity with the same device occurring on these coins. Moreover, their belief is confirmed by the find of a large number of such type coins from various regions of Karnataka where the Western Gaṅgas did rule. M. H. Krishna believed that the Kanarese letters very often occurring on the obverse sides of these coins might be the initial letters of the names of different issuers. Coins with the legend *deva* or *teva*, may be taken to be of the Western Gaṅga king Rachamalla-Satyavākya I and those with the letter *Ha*, he assigned them to Pṛithvīpati II who was also known as Hastimalla.[25] He also believed that these coins were widely imitated by different dynasties including the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga.

D. C. Sircar on the evidence furnished by the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* holds the opinion that atleast some of the Gajapati-*pagodas* were issued by the "Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa including Vikramāditya VI (1076-1126 A.D.)". He is also of the opinion that the uninscribed Gajapati-*pagodas* were minted "mostly by the temple authorities of the goldsmiths of Karnata for centuries with the permission of the royal authority".[26]

Thus there are two distinct theories on the attribution of these coins to two different dynasties of this region of Karnataka. But the suggestion of Sircar attributing them to Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI is not based on surer ground. The known specimens of this dynasty do not seem to have included the

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19. M. A. Stein, *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī*, (*A Chronicle of the kings of Kashmir*), 1900, Vol. I, Verse 926 of VII *Taranga*.
20. *Coins of Medieval India, from the Seventh century down to the Muhammadan Conquests*, pp. 34-35, Plate V, Nos. 22-23.
21. *Indian Coins*, p. 36, Plate IV, No. 23.
22. *MAR*, 1939, p. 97.
23. *Coins & Currency Systems in South India*, pp. 44-45.
24. *Coins of Karnataka*, pp. 65ff.
25. *MAR*, 1939, Nos. 4 and 6.
26. *Studies in Indian Coins*, pp. 245-46ff.

elephant *pagodas*. The coins of the Western Chālukyas are completely different in fabric, found invariably in single-die punched variety, consisting of lion and boar symbols instead of elephant.[27] Some of their coins also bear various minute punches on the reverse side.[28] Gold coins with the legends reading *Jayadeva, Jaya, Jagadeka, Bhuvana* and *Trailokyamalla* of the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa are known to have been discovered so far. One coin having on the obverse, the motif of a large caparisoned boar with crescent pellet and the sun and the reverse having the scroll design as on the elephant *pagodas* has been tentatively attributed to the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa.[29] In the absence of any legend, the issuer of the coin is not known definitely. Possibly the scroll design was imitated from the elephant *pagadas.*

The epigraphical records of 11th century found in the Belgaum district in Karnataka mention *Gaṁgana-pongadyāṇa* or gold *gadyāṇas* of the Gaṅgas, indicating that the Gaṅgas also issued gold coins.[30] In the absence of any other gold coins which may be definitely attributed to the Western Gaṅgas and the abundant find of the elephant *pagodas* all over Karnataka, especially in the Dharwar and Bellary districts, the original home of this dynasty, these coins can be definitely attributed to them. This is also supported by the dynastic emblem depicted on these *pagodas.*

There are also controversies among scholars regarding the date of minting of these coins and no satisfactory picture of the period of their minting and circulation has emerged till now. Those who attribute them to the Western Gaṅgas have also suggested the period of their minting during the later part of their rule, during about 11th century A.D. As pointed out earlier, Sircar suggests the period of their minting atleast some of the uninscribed coins, some time during 11th century A.D. by the temple authorities or the goldsmiths of Karnataka with the permission of the royal authority. This view is also supported by B. D. Chattopadhyaya while suggesting the upper limit of their minting period which according to him cannot be earlier than 11th century at least on the evidences of the palaeography on these coins as well as their reference in the Rājataraṅgiṇī.[31] The epigraphical references to some coin-names such as *Gandhavāraṇa-māḍa, Gaṇḍahasti-māḍa*[32] indicating the representation of an elephant on them in the 12th-13th century inscriptions of Andhra country and also different varieties of *Āṇai-āchchu* (implying that they bore

27. B. D. Chattopadhyaya, *Op.Cit.*, pp. 209ff.
28. *Ibid*, p. 211, Note 3.
29. B. D. Chattopadhyaya, *Coins & Currency Systems in South India*, p. 216, No, 108 ; Elliot, *Op.Cit.*, p. 152, No. 21.
30. *IA*, Vol. I, 1872, pp. 142ff.
31. *JASB*, Vol. XIII, 1971, pp. 167-69ff.
32. *JNSI*, Vol. XXX, pp. 123ff. These coin-names also occur in some Gaṅga epigraphs of Orissa, see Chapter X.

the figure of elephant on them) in the Tamil epigraphs of the same period[33] have induced him to suggest that if they are identical with the elephant *pagodas*, then these coins were continued to be minted even as late as 13th century. But he is also in doubt about their continuation in minting till that late period in view of the fact that "coins once minted continued in circulation for a long period".[34] Those who hold the opinion that these coins were issued by Mallikārjuna of Vijayanagar also suggest a late date posterior to 12th century A.D.[35] S. C. De further, on the evidence of *Rājataraṅgiṇī* holds the view that the Gajapati-*pagodas* were prevalent in Karnataka in crude form before 1090 A.D., but they were improved upon during Harshadeva's time.[36] He is also of opinion that this improved type was adopted by Mallikārjuna of Vijayanagar and the Gajapati king Kapilendradeva of Orissa, as both of them were contemporaries and rivals.

The view of those who held that the palaeography of the letters on these coins cannot be earlier than 11th century is also not based on convincing ground. Rapson has rightly assigned them to a "period before 1090 A.D. as they were imitated by Harshadeva of Kashmir".[37] If we take the elephant-obverse types of Harshadeva of Kashmir who flourished in 11th century, to be the imitations of the so-called elephant *pagodas* of Karnataka, then we have to assume that these *pagodas* were already in circulation in this region at the time of Harshadeva. It is a well known fact that during early and medieval period, coins once in circulation remained current for a long period. Evidences also show that coins minted in different period and in different regions of the country were current at the same time in all parts, especially if these coins were of high metallic value. This is also corroborated by the numerous epigraphical records of various parts of India. If the coin-names *Gandhavārana-māḍa*, and *Gaṇaahasti-māḍa* of the 12th-13th century Andhra epigraphs and *Ānai-āchchu* of the Tamil region of the same period are to be taken as identical with the Gajapati-*pagodas*, it would also support the above view. Further, it would also corroborate the view that these coins were continued to be in circulation for a long period till atleast 13th century A.D. not only in Karnataka, their actual minting area, but also in other parts of South India. It should be noted here that though the coins were continued to be in circulation, their minting seems to have ceased to exist with the downfall of their issuers, the Western Gaṅgas.

Thus in the above light, it may be assumed that, during the rule of the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa these *pagodas* were also current in their dominion and Harshadeva of Kashmir, a contemporary of Vikramāditya VI of this dynasty

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33. *JNSI*, Vol. XX, Part I, p. 14.
34. Chattopadhyaya, *Coins and Currency Systems in South India*, p. 47.
35. *Num. Suppl.*, No. XLIV, for 1931-33, p. 18 ; *JKHRS*, Vol. I, No. 4, p. 373.
36. *Ibid*, Vol. I, No. 4, p. 373.
37. *Indian Coins*, 1897, p. 36.

fascinated by the superb artistic execution of these coins might have imitated for his own coins for circulation in his own kingdom. The period of minting may thus evidently be assigned to an earlier date before 11th century. The gold *gadyāṇas* of the Gaṅgas revealed by an epigraph of A.D. 1075, from Belgaum district in Karnataka, stated above also indicate that the Western Gaṅgas alone issued these coins which were current till atleast the period mentioned in the inscription. Some of these elephant *pagodas* with the legend *Buja* or *Bhuja* are known to have been discovered.[38] If the reading of the legend is taken to be correct, some of these coins were possibly struck with the same legend by the Western Gaṅga feudatories under the Western Chālukyas or the early members of the Hoysala family who came to rule in the areas earlier ruled by Gaṅgas and who used the title of *Bhuja-vala* and are known to have continued Gaṅga traditions as suggested by Chatto-padhyaya. But it seems, they did not have the fresh minting of these coins and might have struck the legend on some of the existing pieces. As has already been stated above, the imitations of these coins in gold were not rare and several of them have been illustrated by different scholars and several cast imitations in gold were prepared by goldsmiths of different royal families in later period in order to meet the demand for their circulation. The minting of genuine die-struck pieces were stopped after the decline of the Western Gaṅgas.

The views expressed by Sircar and others that some of these coins were uninscribed and issued by the temple authorities, do not seem to be much convincing. In fact all the original pieces are inscribed with only one or two letters visible, because of the marginal engraving. Absence of these letters on some of the coins is mainly due to the defective striking of the die, which is not evenly struck on all the coins. As the legend is usually along the edges, sometimes it became out of the coin-flan due to uneven striking of the die.[39] Even the figure of the elephant on obverse is not fully shown in all the genuine coins, sometimes the trunk of the elephant is out of flan. In the absence of any definite evidence of minting these coins by the temple authority, this seems to be a possible suggestion for their dynastic issue. If we are to believe that these coins continued to be minted even after the downfall of the Western Gaṅgas, during the rule of the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa and also more later, during Mallikārjuna of Vijayanagar, they were definitely manufactured by casting or crudely imitated from the original pieces. This is evident from some of the crude coins illustrated by different scholars, already mentioned above. The cast imitation of this coin type in brass (although a forged coin) illustrated by Chattopadhyaya as well as in gold preserved in the State

38. Chattopadhyaya, *Coins and Currency Systems in South India*, p. 47.
39. Cf. Chattopadhyaya, *Op.Cit.*, Plate III, Nos. 172, 176, Smith, *CCIM*, Vol. I, Plate XXX, No. 18, etc.

Museum, Bhubaneswar (Plate L, Fig. 2, No. 2) would indicate that they were intended to meet the demand for circulation in a later period. The valuable metallic content in these coins was considered by the people to be more important than their face value. The beautiful workmanship of the coins might have also fascinated the other royal families of the different kingdoms of South India in a later period like the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa, to imitate them by cast impressions in gold to meet their demand in higher commercial transactions. The coin names associated with place names as revealed by the South Indian epigraphs of the early and medieval period, such as *Lokki-gadyāṇa, Lokki-nishka* etc. i e., the *gadyāṇa* or *nishka* manufactured at Lokkiguṇḍi (identified with modern Lokkuṇḍi in the Dharwar district of Karnataka) may be due to the fact that the gold coins known as *gadyāṇa* or *nishka* were manufactured by the goldsmiths of these places either on the order of the royal authority of that region or on the instructions of different moneyers for commercial transactions,

CHAPTER TWELVE

CURRENCY AND EXCHANGE IN EARLY AND MEDIEVAL ORISSA

The origin and evolution of coinage and currency system of the ancient Orissa is shrouded in obscurity. Despite varied sources of information relating to Orissa's past, the evidence available for a complete and comprehensive account of currency and media of exchange prevalent during the period under review, is very scanty. It is a fact that coins are useful for the study of economic history of a people, besides definitely indicating the progress of human civilization from the barter to monetary economy, they also reveal, on the basis of their existence or non-existence, the economic growth of a country. The non-existence of metallic money in a particular period does dot necessarily indicate economic deterioration, but prevalance of other media of exchange to meet the necessities of life as well as internal and external trade. But in the absence of a comprehensive chronological history of ancient Orissa, many problems relating to the study of the economic conditions and particularly the currency and exchange of the early and medieval period have remained unsolved. No judicious thought has so far been given to the study of currency system of the period in question, relating to Orissa. Previous studies have been based on inadequate and confused thinking about the origin of the coins and currency systems of Orissa, and attempts were generally made to find out evidences on the actual finds of coins, relating to political history of Orissa. However, the internal as well as the external evidences furnished by the various coin specimens, epigraphic records and literature, although very meagre, occasionally reveal interesting facts about the currency and exchange of this region. Besides, a comparative and chronological account of the currency and media of exchange prevalent in other parts of India, particularly, the adjoining provinces of Orissa from the earliest times would help us further in this regard. Since the study of Orissan currency system has not advanced considerably, an attempt is being made here to provide informations from these sources which will be helpful and necessary for a proper understanding of the coins which are found in Orissa from time to time.

The expression, "media of exchange" means giving or taking some commodity or service for another, representing a standard of value. According to C. Seltman, "Mankind first learnt to value, next to weigh and last of all to stamp metal; or in other words evolved from barter to metallic currency, abandoned mere currency

for money and then mere money for coinage".[1] The history of exchange goes back to the prehistoric palaeolithic period when man's economic activity was confined to food gathering and hunting which was also the basis of subsistence. With the development of the primitive society, when people, instead of food gatherer, became food producer, the necessity of means of exchange for their produces was felt and from this, barter system was evolved. As elsewhere, in Orissa also, barter was the earliest stage of commercial transactions. But, it had its disadvantages too. A cultivator could get a piece of cloth from the weaver in exchange for his produce. But the want of coincidence of respective needs between the two parties, i.e., the buyer and the seller, was, sometimes a great handicap. At one stage cow, goat or other domestic animals and food-grains which were considered as units of wealth, were certain commodities of general value and accepted as common media of exchange. But in these cases also, the difficulty was felt by the early human society, as for example, when necessity was felt to buy a small article of lesser value than that of a cow. It was very difficult to divide some goods like an animal or a dress into parts or pieces to purchase a commodity of lesser value.

The growth of the idea of a standard of value gave rise to money economy and with the growth of the civilization, the articles like cowrie-shells, various stone beads, pearls etc. which were considered to be valuable came to be regarded as common media of exchange. These articles were used as ornaments and also for other luxury purpose. It seems, the luxurious articles like the above which were not easily available to the common people, served in most of the cases as the common media of exchange, although barter system was not altogether given up. Gradually, some of the valuable metals, such as gold, silver, copper etc. were selected as the suitable materials for exchange, as they were considered less perishable than any other commodity and could be stored easily without loss of their metallic value. They supplemented all the other means of exchange as a standard media, although the system of barter was in existence throughout the ages. In spite of its advantages and disadvantages, it was the earliest means of carrying on trade and commerce throughout India. In the present day, too, foreign trade is based on a kind of indirect barter, i.e., commodities are exchanged between the two countries on the basis of their calculated value. The words *prapaṇa* and *pratipaṇa* used in the Vedic literature probably denoted the commodities received in barter or exchange.[2] The Buddhist *Saṁghas* were forbidden to use coined money and followed the system of barter.[3] Hiuen-tsang in the 7th century A.D. observed, "Rare precious substances of various kinds from the sea-ports are

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1. *Greek Coins* (*Methuens Hand book of Archaeology*, London, 1933), p. 1.
2. *Atharva Veda*, III, 15, 4.
3. *Vinaya Piṭaka*, III, 237 ; II, 294 ; *Chullavagga*, XII, pp. 1ff.

bartered for merchandise".[4] But he also informs us that barter was used along with metallic money of "gold, silver and cowries and small pearls in the commerce of the country".[5] The mathematical texts like *Gaṇitasārasaṁgraha* of Mahāvīrāchārya of about 9th century A.D.[6] and *Līlāvatī* of Bhāskarāchārya of about 12th century A.D.[7] prescribe rulers in determining the value in case of a barter. As elsewhere in India, Orissa also, followed the agricultural economy, from the very beginning of its history which is even continued to the present day. This is evident from the numerous epigraphical records of early and medieval period of her history. It was due mainly, to agriculture, which was rural based, being considered the principal unit of wealth and grains and other produces of the field served as the means of payment in villages, thus reducing the monetary functions of metallic coins. During the present day, the practice of people in certain rural areas of Orissa is to collect minor forest produces, which constitute an important subsidiary occupation for them. Produces like resin, myrobalams, *mohuā* flower or seeds etc. are bartered or sold in the weekly markets in exchange for salt, rice and other necessities.[8] We have accounts of foreigners in the 19th century regarding medium of exchange in certain rural areas of Orissa. In 1856, Lt. C. Elliot wrote to the Commissioner at Nagpur on Kalahandi district, "There are no periodical Bazzars and the produce of our village finds its way with difficulty to the next and this want is aggravated by the total want of any current medium of exchange. No money passes in the country not even cowries and during my tour it has been found necessary to pay the coolies in grain".[9] We have also information that local traders who lend money to *ādivāsīs* (aboriginals) and backward classes, "take the fullest advantages of the barter system and the ignorance of the people".[10]

At one stage of human civilization, perhaps before the invention of coined money, valuable metals such as gold, silver or copper, either in their dust form or bar were used as common media of exchange. Vedic literature shows that the people in those days followed a mixed pastoral and agricultural economy. Cattle was one of the units of value and reckoned as one of the units of wealth. They carried on trade and commerce with usual barter system along with valuable metals like gold, silver and copper and other valuable articles like pearls, cowries. Grain was possibly most widely used throughout the country as a means of payment. Gold, silver and copper were selected as suitable materials for exchange, as they were less perish-

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4. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. I, p. 178.
5. *Ibid*, p. 178.
6. M. Rangacharya, (Ed), *Gaṇita*, (Madras, 1926), Ch. IV, pp. 37-38.
7. *Līlāvatī*, p. 35.
8. N. Senapati (Ed.), Orissa District Gazetteers, *Sundargarh*, p. 261.
9. *OHRJ*, Vol. XIV, Nos. 3 and 4, p. 60.
10. N. Senapati (Ed.), Orissa District Gazetteers, *Sundargarh*, p. 200.

able than any other commodity which could be stored easily without any loss of their value. But the grain and cowrie media, performing distinct monetary functions, continued widely in the subsequent periods of history, side by side with metallic currency.

The Vedic literature contains the term *nishka*[11] denoting sometimes a gold necklace and sometimes indicating its monetary use. The use of *niskha* denoting a metallic medium of exchange is also found in other works.[12] There are references to another metallic money, called *hiraṇyapiṇḍa* (lumps of gold).[13] But there is no evidence to show their use according to any definite weight standard. They have been referred to as gifts or rewards for religious and social services.[14] But they had certain definite shape size and value as they were gifts from the king and therefore gradually accepted by the people as legal tender and recognized as medium of exchange in commercial transactions. Later on, the use of *nishka* as currency is evident from several sources.[15] Besides *nishka*, we have references of *kṛishṇala* and *śatamāna* in the *Brāhmanas* in the sense of their monetary use. The later Vedic *Saṁhitās* and the *Brāhmaṇas* mention different denominations of metallic currency, *śatamānā*, *pāda*, etc.[16] The words *rajata* and *hiraṇya* in the Vedic literature, clearly distinguishing two types of metallic currency furnish important data in respect of the earliest coinage of our country. It is likely to think from the evidence of different denominations of the *śatamāna*, *pāda* etc. of the metallic money, that they were used according to certain specific weight standard. In addition to these terms, *hiraṇya-piṇḍa* (lump of gold, also sometimes indicating silver) possibly an unstamped money of specific weight and also metallic bars of certain weight were used for commercial transactions. It seems the concept of coinage in the modern sense of the term was known, though in a rudimentary form during the Vedic period. In a subsequent period, we have numerous references to metallic money, the use of different names for different measures of weight of metals some of which became coin-names later on, such as *suvarṇa*, *śatamāna*, *nishka*, and unit of weight such as *kṛishṇala*, *raktikā* (red and black seeds or the *guñjā* berry) which became the basic units of all the North Indian weight standards for valuable metals like gold, silver etc. Their economic importance was also recognized by the later authorities like

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11. *Rig Veda*, II, 33.10 ; 47.15 ; V, 19.3 ; Cf. *nishka-grīva*, "having a gold ornament on the neck".
12. *Atharva Veda*, XX, 127.3 ; XX, 9.34.5 ; *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XI, 4.1.1.8 ; *Vedic Index*, Vol, I, pp. 454-55.
13. *Ibid.*
14. *JNSI*, Vol. XV, p. 17.
15. *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 455.
16. S. K. Maity, *Early Indian Coins and Currency System*, pp. 20-21.

Pāṇini[17], and *Smṛiti* writers like *Manu*[18] and Yājñavalkya.[19] Their weight standard is recorded in their works.

With the introduction of coined money which is a great achievement of the human civilization a new way of life and culture began. By the beginning of the 5th century B.C., a regular system of coinage was already in vogue in India as evidenced from Pāṇini, the author of the Sanskrit grammar *Ashṭādhyāyī*. He refers to the gold *nishkas* in the sense of coins when he uses the words like *dvi-nishkam* and *tri-nishkam* etc. He also mentions that a man possessing one hundred *nishkas* was known as *naishka-śatika* and one having one thousand *nishkas*, called *naishka-sahasrika.*[20] In the Mahābhārata also we come across such references of people having hundred and thousand *nishkas.*[21] The references to *nishka* as a coined money in gold are found in abundance in the *Mahābhārata.*[22] Besides, another coin-name *śatamāna* with its smaller denomination *śāṇa* were popular during the age of the Mahābhārata as well as in the time of Pāṇini.[23] *Śatamāna* seems to be originally a gold coin, but later on denoted both silver and gold as known from the later *Brāhmaṇa* literature.

Pāṇini mentions another coin-name called *kārshāpaṇa* which became most popular coinage in the subsequent period. This was also known as *paṇa* in his time. He has also mentioned the different smaller denominations such as *ardha-kārshāpaṇa* (half *kārshāpaṇa*), *pāda-kārshāpaṇa* (one-fourth *kārshāpaṇa*), *dvi-māsha* (one-eighth *māsha*) and *māsha* (one-sixteenth *māsha*). These coins seem to have been of both silver and copper. Besides these, Pāṇini also mentions *viṁśatika* which was equal to 20 *māshakas, triviṁśatika* of 30 *māshakas* indicating both silver and copper coins. He has also mentioned different denominations of this series of coins such as *dvi-viṁśatika*, *ardhra-viṁśatika*, *pāda-viṁsatika*, etc.[24] From the reference of varieties of coins of different metals and their sub-multiples in Pāṇini's work, it becomes more than clear that coinage had already been established in a very sound and systematic basis during his period (C. 5th century B.C.).

The coin-name *kārshāpaṇa* is popularly known in the post-Vedic period, seen for the first time in Pāṇini's works and the Pāli literature. The Buddhist literature mentions *kāhāpaṇa* (*kārshāpaṇa* in Sanskrit) of copper and silver and gold coins

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17. Pāṇini, *Ashṭādhyāyī*, V, 1.27.
18. *Manu-Smṛiti*, VIII, 135-138.
19. *Yājñavalkya-Smṛiti*, I, 364-366.
20. Pāṇini, *Ashṭādhyāyī*, V, 199.
21. Mbh., *Anuśāsana parvan*, 13.43.
22. *JNSI*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 143-156.
23. Mbh., *Āraṇyaka parvan*, 3.134.14 ; Pāṇini, V. 1.35 and VII, 3.17.
24. *Ashṭādhyāyī*, V. 2.120 ; V. 124.

such as *nikkha* (*nishka* in Sanskrit), *suvarṇa* etc.[25] There is also reference to lead *kāhāpaṇa* in Buddhist *Jātakas.*[26] References to smaller denominations of coins such as *pāda, māshaka kākaṇī* etc. and *sippikā* or cowrie used as petty coins are known from the *Jātakas. Kārshāpaṇa* was the standard coin during this period as known from its frequent mention in the Buddhist literature which was used for even very small transactions. In Pāli literature, *kāhāpaṇa* or *kārshāpaṇa* occurs with its fractions as *kāhāpaṇa*, half *kāhāpaṇa* and *kākaṇī.*

Extensive use of the metallic currency during the pre-Mauryan and Mauryan period is supported by Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* (C. 4th century B.C.). The coin-name *kārshāpaṇa* has been mentioned as *paṇa* by Kauṭilya which denoted both copper and silver. His *Arthaśāstra* provides us with very important data on the coinage of the contemporary period. A regular currency system and coins extensively used as a medium of exchange seem to have been established as supported by the evidence of the *Arthaśāstra.* It also appears from this source that there was a well-organised mint and different officers were appointed to supervise carefully the minting of coins and guard against the possibility of counterfeiting.[27] There were officers like *Lakshaṇādhyaksha* (Superintendent of Mint), *Rūpadarśaka* (Examiner of coins) who were appointed by the royal authority. It appears that during the period of Kauṭilya, who flourished in the time of Chandragupta Maurya, the economy of the country was based mainly on coined money. This is also corroborated by the numerous actual finds generally attributed to this period.

Kārshāpaṇa or *paṇa* mentioned in the *Ashṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini, the Buddhist literature and in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, has been generally identified with the silver punch-marked coins of which numerous hoards have been found in all parts of India including Orissa. As the literary as well as the actual finds of these coins show, this was the standard medium of exchange from about 6th century B.C. downwards.

At the present state of our knowledge, it is difficult to give a categorical answer to the question as to when exactly the minted metallic coins were first introduced in Orissa. But the evolution of coinage in India as discussed above, and the actual finds of the so-called silver punch-marked coins in abundance in this part of the country, as well as the conspicuous absence of any indigenous coinage prior to the punch-marked series, would tend to suggest that the use of coined money as a medium of exchange was started with the introduction of the silver punch-marked coins in Orissa. We have also no literary or epigraphical records to

25. *Jātaka*, Vol. IV, p. 12.
26. *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 7.
27. *Arth.* (Shamasastry's trans.), pp. 95-96, p. 274.

inform us the prevalance of any currency system of indigenous nature in Orissa prior to the introduction of the silver punch-marked coins.

The earliest coins found in Orissa are the so-called silver punch-marked coins in two types generally referred to as the "local" or "Janapada" and "imperial" series of punch-marked coins.[28] On the basis of their symbols and fabric the "local" punch-marked coins are considered to be the earliest specimens and they have found mainly in the western part of Orissa which formed a part of the ancient Maha-kosala or the Kosala *Janapada*. The "local" or the earliest punch-marked coins generally attributed to different *Mahā-janapadas* of ancient India, such as Uttara Pañchāla, Dakshiṇa Pañchāla, Surasena, Vatsa, Kāśī, Kosala, Magadha, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Andhra, etc. have been found, confined to the area of their discovery (frequently found in a particular area) and hence they have been distinguished as the coinages of the *Janapadas*. The coins of each *Janapada* differ from the other in respect of symbology and fabric. The punch-marked coins of the Kosala *Janapada* found in Orissa are also known to have been discovered mainly in the western part of it, i.e. Sambalpur and Bolangir districts along with other areas in the Madhya Pradesh which comprised within ancient Dakshiṇa or South Kosala. On the other hand the "imperial" or "universal" series of punch-marked coins, as the numismatists call them for their abundant finds all over India, have been discovered in several parts of Orissa in big hoards. The *kārshāpaṇas* of the ancient Indian literary texts, are generally identified by the numismatists, with these silver punch-marked coins (both "local" and "imperial" series) and the "imperial" series of these coins are generally attributed to the pre-Mauryan and Mauryan period when the different parts of India were united under one imperial power and these coins were spread all over India through the imperial expansion. The wide distribution of them all over the country would suggest that this coinage was issued by a well-organised central authority. It seems, also probable that, with the annexation of Kaliṅga to the Magadhan empire, this centrally organized coinage was introduced in Orissa. Thus the real history of the coinage may be presumed to have started in all parts of Orissa from about 3rd or 4th century B.C. with the introduction of the silver punch-marked coins. The extensive use of these coins, known from Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra,* during the pre-Mauryan and in the subsequent period, indicates that the silver punch-marked coins were the standard medium of exchange in all parts of India. With the extension of Magadhan imperialism to Orissa, these coins were supplied to this region from the centrally organized regular coinage of the Mauryan empire, through trade and commerce.

Although Kauṭilya mentions in his *Arthaśāstra*, state's authority of minting coins

28. See Chapter I.

as is apparent from the mentions of some officials whose duties have been specified in this treatise[29], there are also evidences regarding the private minting of coins and the continuity of circulation of the issues by the private agencies side by side with the state issues.[30] The officer called the *Rūpadarśaka* (Examiner of coins) mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra* had the duty to test the genuineness and to determine the value of the coins and to enumerate recommendation for fees to be paid by the public for getting their coins examined. There is also indication to private authorities issuing coins, but they had to follow the instructions laid down by the royal authority for minting coins and follow the standard fixed by the state. The extensive use of the coins as is evidenced by their provenance and also by the *Arthaśāstra*, would suggest the popular medium of exchange was these coins which were also used in trade and commerce. There are more evidences regarding the private minting of coins and the continuity of circulation of the coins issued by private agencies side by side with those issued by the state, in a later period. The goldsmiths were primarily entrusted with the work of manufacturing the coins who obtained permission from the royal authority and the coins which were mainly used in large scale commercial transactions, the bankers, moneyers and merchants and different mercantile guilds, and also the administrators issued coins only when the necessity of coins for these purposes were felt. Sometimes the goldsmiths were appointed by the state or the moneyers or traders with the approval of the state authority to manufacture coins. The reason for the practice of testing the genuineness of the coins by royal officers before their entering into the royal treasury, was mainly due to the existence of different private agencies who got struck their coins through the goldsmiths for commercial purposes and circulated side by side with the royal issues.

The abundance of silver in the Mauryan period or more specifically during the Magadhan imperialism and silver punch-marked coins, generally taken to be of Mauryan and pre-Mauryan type in Orissa show that both internal and external trades were in flourishing condition and the economy of the country was based on a well-developed currency system. Although we do not have any indigenous literature and our epigraphical sources are very much silent about this coinage during the Mauryan period, its popularity is evidenced from Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* which prescribes payment of annual salaries of officers of various categories in *paṇas*.[31] At the same time, it also lays down that, salaries can be paid in forest produce, cattle, or produces of the field along with a small amount of money, if there is scarcity of coined money. The practice of the payment of the salaries

29. *Arth.* II 12.

30. *Ibid.* (Shamasastry's trans.), pp. 94-95 ; Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins*, pp. 102-103.

31. Cf. *Arth.* V. 3.33.

partly in money and partly in grain appear to be in vogue throughout the ages.[32] The two expressions called *Vetana* (wages for payment in money) and *bhakta* (allowances in money or grain) were in use since the days of the epics and continued through the ages. The expression *bhattā* (*Bhakta* in Sanskrit) in the sense of allowances is still used in Orissa.

With the decline of the Mauryan rule in Orissa, the supply of the punch-marked coins from a centrally organized administrative system, was probably stopped. But it seems, these coins were continued to be manufactured by different mercantile guilds and traders for a longer period for commercial transactions. As the different parts of Orissa were used to money economy, this currency was not totally out of market. Moreover, the intrinsic value of the coins and their usefulness for other purposes such as ornaments and utensils made them acceptable to all. There are archaeological as well as literary evidences to show the continuity of this currency till quite late in this region as elsewhere in Indian sub-continent. Punch-marked coin-moulds in clay have been discovered from the archaeological excavations at Sisupalgarh near Bhubaneswar at levels attributed to C. 300 A.D.[33] Although, sometimes, these moulds are taken to be the apparatus of the forgers, their discovery at the level attributed to a late period would suggest that the silver punch-marked coins were in great demand in Orissa atleast till about 4th century A.D. It would also suggest that minting of these coins by punching devices had ceased to exist during this period. The Sisupalgarh excavation also yielded silver punch-marked coin at the level attributed to C. 100 A.D. Sculptural depiction of some coins of square and round shape, resembling the silver punch-marked coins is noticed in a cave called Gaṇeshgumphā near Hātīgumphā inscription of Khāravela, on the Udayagiri hill at Bhubaneswar.[34] The coins are depicted in a stone relief, occurring in a frieze in the above cave of the period which can be assigned to about 1st century A.D. with the representation of a scene of Udayana-Vāsavadattā flight, a famous legend from the Sanskrit literature. These evidences would indicate that punch-marked coins which were introduced in the Orissan market since, probably, the Mauryan rule, continued to be in circulation to a quite late date.

The prevalence of the punch-marked coins as currency till quite late date also in other parts of India is evident from the *Smṛitis* of Manu, Yājñavalkya, Nārada and Vishṇu. The coin-name *purāṇa* and *dharaṇa* otherwise called *kārshāpaṇa* generally applied to the so-called silver punch-marked coins are mentioned in these literary texts.[35] The term *purāṇa* indicated old coins in circulation, the

32. D. C. Sircar, *Stud. Pol. Adm. Syst.*, pp. 254-55.
33. *Ancient India*, No. 5, p. 99.
34. Plate LI, Fig. 2 ; also see, *JNSI*, Vol. XXVII, Part II, pp. 170-76 and Plate IX, No. 2.
35. Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins*, p. 73.

synonym for which were *kārshāpaṇa* or *dharaṇa*. Buddhaghosha, the celebrated Buddhist author who flourished in the 5th century A.D. refers to the prevalence of the old *nīla-kārshāpaṇa* (blue *kārshāpaṇa*) which have generally been identified with the silver punch-marked coins, side by side with the silver coins of the Śaka Satraps of Western India and other coins issued by the indigenous dynasties.[36]

It is now well known that the early medieval royal dynasties of Orissa did not issue coinage of their own. No coins of the Māṭharas of Kaliṅga (C. 5th-6th century A.D.), the Śailodbhavas of Koṅgoda (C. 7th century A.D.), the Bhaumakaras (C. 8th-10th century A.D.) of Toshali and Utkala, the Somavaṁśīs of South Kosala and Utkala (C. 10th-12th A.D.), the early Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara (C. 7th-12th A D.) have as yet come to light. But the epigraphical records of some of these dynasties and the feudatories ruling under them reveal the use of metallic money, especially of silver, known as *rūpya*. The basis of calculation of this monetary transaction was the *pala* standard of weight. The inscriptions of the early medieval period invariably mention the coin-name as *rūpya, rūpaka* or *rūpyaka*, calculated in *pala* weight standard, often with its fractions, such as *māsha* and *guñjā*. The Madras Museum grant of the time of Narendradhavala, who was probably a feudatory chief under the Bhaumakaras, assigned to C. 10th century A.D., refers to the rent of a village as *rūpyaka pla* (abbreviated for *pala*) 10, *ā-mā* (abbreviated for *ādya-māsha*) 2, *gu* (guñjā) 4.[37] Sometimes *rūpaka*, obviously indicating a silver coin, is found mentioned in the epigraphical records of the same period as *ruka* in an abbreviated form.[38] The Phulasera copper plate grant of Kīrttirājadeva, an Eastern Gaṅga ruler of a colateral branch, ruling in Ganjam region of Orissa, during about 12th century A.D., mentions that the annual rent for the gift village was fixed at *rūpyākhachatur-viṁśati* written in words, along with the contracted form of the term as *ruākha* and the numerical figure for the amount as 24.[39] The grant further records the royal tax, known as *Yuvarājachhāyā*, possibly a tax on the grazing grounds and public thoroughfare, was fixed annually at *rūpya-s-ardhakh-aika* (*rūpya* one and half), which is written in words. It is also written in its contracted form along with the fraction and numerical figures as *rua*-1, *mā*-2, denoting thus, 1½ *rūpyākha* or *ruākha* or *rūpyākha* in this case may be a mistake for *rūpaka* in Sanskrit. South Indian epigraphical records mention *ruka* for Sanskrit *rūpaka*, indicating silver coin.[40] Another

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36. *Ibid.*, p. 97.
37. *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 44ff.
38. Cf. The Angul copper plate grant of Dharmamahādevī of the Bhaumakara dynasty, B. Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, pp. 50ff.
39. *JAHRS*, Vol. III, pp. 30ff; This charter is now preserved in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar.
40. B. D. Chattopadhyaya, *Coins and Currency Systems in South India*, p. 184.

abbreviated form for *rūpaka* known from this inscription is *ruā* and *mā* is obviously written for *māsha*. This inscription also reveals interesting informations on the weight standard followed in Kaliṅga region during early medieval period which will be discussed later on. Apart from the references in the above inscriptions, the silver coins or atleast metallic money in silver, known as *rūpya*, its frequent mention along with the term for the weight as *pala*, sometimes in the abbreviated form as *ru-pla*, is found in the epigraphic records of the Bhaumakaras[41], the Somavaṁśis[42] and the semi-independent rulers like the Bhañjas.[43], the Tuṅgas[44], the Śulkis[45], and several feudatory chiefs who acknowledged the suzerainty of the Bhaumakaras, the Somavaṁśīs and the Eastern Gaṅgas during the early medieval period. It is quite clear from the references to *rūpya*, indicating metallic money in silver, which was measured in *pala* weight standard that it was the standard medium of êxchange during the period in question. But it is interesting to note that despite frequent references to this silver currency in epigraphical records, we have not yet come across a single silver coin which can be attributed to the royal families mentioned above. Neither any silver currency, attributable to the other kingdoms, outside Orissa, of early medieval period, has been discovered so far in Orissa. Instead, big hoards of silver punch-marked coins have been found throughout Orissa. The manufacture of old-fashioned *kārshāpāṇa* resembling the "old blue *kārshāpaṇa*", during 5th century A.D. is found mentioned in *Vinayattha-mañjusā*, a commentary on Buddhaghosha's *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇi.*[46] Although we do not have any evidence to show the continuity of manufacturing of these coins in Orissa, it is possible to think that the metallic money in silver, mentioned as *rūpya* or *rūpaka*, denoted the prevalence of the old silver punch-marked coins still used as currency in commercial transactions. It may be pointed out here that these coins so far discovered show very much worn out due to their long circulation in the market. Probably, the production of punch-marked coins in great abundance during the period of their original currency, was sufficient to meet the requirements of the people for a long period, even after the cessation of their manufacture. Moreover, the discovery of punch-marked coin-moulds shows the popularity of this currency, and its extensive use as standard media of exchange, for a considerably late date, even upto the advent of the Imperial Gaṅga rulers during 12th century A.D. As it will be evidenced from their records, later on, that these coins were occasionally used as currency along with other coins of different metals.

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41. B. Mishra, *Op.Cit.*, pp. 50ff.
42. *EI*, Vol. III, pp. 340-44; *IO*, Vol. IV, pp. 115ff.
43. *EI*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 15-20 ; *IO*, Vol. VI, pp. 218-252 etc.
44. *Ibid*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 100ff.
45. *Ibid*, Vol. XII, pp. 156-59 ; *JASB*, Vol. LXIV, Part 1, pp. 123ff.
46. Sircar, *Numismatic and Epigraphical Studies*, p. 13.

An assessment of the total volume of currency in circulation in Orissa after the decline of the Mauryan rule or more specifically after the cessation of manufacturing of punch-marked coins would show that, in all the known stages of its currency history, excepting a few indigenous coinage, some non-local coins of different categories and different metals were prevalent along with other media of exchange. A survey of coins of different metals, apart from the silver punch-marked coins found in Orissa would support this fact, which also reveals another aspect of the value of metals, corroborated by other relevant materials.

A large number of coins, found in Orissa, can be definitely assigned to be the issues of particular royal families of other parts of India, outside the Orissan kingdom. Apart from the punch-marked silver coins, discussed above, the coins of the Āndhra-Śātavāhanas, the Kushāṇas, the Guptas, the Śarabhapuriyans, the Kalachuris, the Yādavas etc., in Orissa, definitely infiltrated into this part of the country either by way of trade or through pilgrims. The Sisupalgarh excavation has yielded a few copper coins resembling the copper coinage of the later Āndhra Śātavāhanas, which would suggest that they entered Orissa through commercial transactions or travellers.[47] The ancient Kaliṅga region was contiguous to the Śātavāhana territory and at least a portion of South Kaliṅga came under the Śātavāhana supremacy as evidenced from inscriptions. But the find of their coinage at Sisupalgarh which yielded varieties of coins including the punch-marked coins of both "local" and "imperial" series, the so-called Puri-Kushāṇa coppers, does not suggest political expansion by the Śātavāhanas in this region. Large hoards of punch-marked coins discovered in and around Bhubaneswar, generally identified with the ancient city of Tosali, Sisupalgarh, being included within its vicinity, would suggest that it was a great centre of trade and commerce. The view that copper coins do not travel long, can be proved untenable on the evidence of these coins of the Āndhra-Śātavāhanas near Bhubaneswar, situated far away from their kingdom. Moreover, these coins are not known to have been discovered in other parts of Orissa, except small finds of stray nature, probably in the ancient Kaliṅga region,[48] thus indicating that these coins did not form a regular currency of Orissa.

The find of Roman gold coins[49] in some parts of Orissa is also not suggestive of the fact that they formed exclusively, the currency of Orissa. The Roman *aureus* and silver *dinarius* of the early centuries of the Christian era are known to have been discovered not only in the coastal regions but also in the interior sectors

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47. See Chapter II.
48. *PIHC*, 1949, p. 33.
49. Cunningham, *Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* for 1874-75 and 1875-76 (Vol. XIII); pp. 72-73 ; Orissa District Gazetteers, *Mayurbhanj*, pp. 57-58.

of South India, in abundance.[50] These foreign coins of valuable metals were definitely imported into India, not for use as currency in the strict sense of the term, but as valuable commodity, which served as useful stores of value, as did some indigenous coins of high value. The popularity of the Roman coins led to their local imitations and served as part of the total currency of other contemporary indigenous coins and served at least a fine media of exchange for a long time in the South. Although, we have no evidence to show the circulation of Roman coins as in South India, their finds in hoards on the ancient trade routes would definitely represent commercial activities in ancient Orissa.

The so-called Puri-Kushāṇa or the imitation Kushāṇa copper coins are frequently discovered in association with the alleged Kushāṇa originals in copper.[51] The internal as well as external evidences show that these coins were in circulation in Orissa for a long period from about 3rd century upto atleast 6th or 7th century A.D. Evidences are also now forthcoming that these coins were in circulation in Orissa in a period when the Kushāṇa empire in northern India had ceased to exist. The intervening period between the end of Khāravela's rule (C. 1st century A.D.) and the advent of the Guptas, even upto atleast 6th century A.D., the political history of Orisaa is shrouded in obscurity. However, archaeologists have uncovered a few materials belonging to this period, which show that Orissa was split up into several small principalities ruled by petty chieftains of semi-independent or even of independent status.[52] Although the available materials are not sufficient to present a connected and fair picture of the period, the rise of quite a good number of kings of different dynasties, formation of small principalities; paucity of or occasioal reference to silver coins and abundant finds of the

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50. For Roman coins found in South India, see P. L. Gupta, *Roman Coins from Andhra Pradesh* (Andhra Pradesh Govt. Museum Series, No. 10), Hyderabad, 1965, pp. 41-45 ; *Ancient India*, No. 2, Appendix II, pp. 116-21 ; *JRAS*, 1904, pp. 591-673 ; also in many places of Karnataka, such as recent find at Bangalore and Akki-Alur.
51. See Chapter III.
52. Welcome light has been thrown by the following epigraphical records on this point :—
    (a) Bhadrak inscription of Mahārāja Gaṇa, *EI*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 169 ff.
    (b) Allahabād pillar inscription of Samudragupta, *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 14ff.
    (c) Asanpat Naṭarāj image inscription of Śatrubhañja, *OHRJ*, Vol. XIII, pp. 1-8 also see, *JOH*, Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 5-10.
    (d) Baraḍipaḍā copper plate grant of Nandarājadeva, A. Joshi, *New Light on the Cultural Heritage of Orissa*, pp. 34-35ff.
    (e) Jayrampur copper plate inscription of the time of Gopachandra, *OHRJ*, Vol. XI, pp. 206-233.

so-called Puri-Kushāṇa coins in copper, which have been assigned to the period under discussion, atleast suggest some economic changes, in the relative value of the two metals and the policy of money economy. Their wide distribution throughout Orissa indicates that they were circulated here not by the local rulers, but by the commercial communities, to meet the local requirements, as well as for trade and commerce, the people were used to money economy since the early days when silver punch-marked coins played important role in the currency system of Orissa. In the absence of any evidence to show that there was any paramount power to control the currency system all over Orissa, it is likely to think that the commercial communities and different mercantile guilds circulated this currency with the approval of the different ruling authorities of different parts of Orissa on popular demand. Abundant finds of these coins in minting condition would also suggest that sufficient copper was available in the mines of Orissa for their manufacture. The alleged Kushāṇa originals found in association with these imitation Kushāṇa types, probably infiltrated into Orissan market through commercial transactions and later on their popularity led to their acceptance by the local rulers and the commercial communities of Orissa as coinage. With the decline of the Kushāṇa empire in North-West India, internal trade must have been hampered and supply of original Kushāṇa copper coins were discontinued. But the great demand and popularity of these coins might have led to their imitation in casts to meet the local requirements as currency.

No hoard of gold coins of the Imperial Kushāṇas is reported to have been discovered in Orissa. Only a few stray coins of Kanishka and Huvishka and a few cast imitations of these coins in gold, in the form of ornaments have been found.[53] This explains that their gold coins did not form the currency of this region in the strict sense. The popularity of the Kushāṇa coin-devices, led these coins infiltrated into Orissan territory, through travellers or through commercial transactions. They served as stores of value, ornaments or largess money, as other gold coins of the subsequent periods found in Orissa in small number.

A few gold coins of the Guptas found in Orissa, similarly, do not constitute the currency of this region, although, we have evidences of Gupta supremacy in Orissa during 6th and 7th centuries when the Imperial Gupta rule in Northern India had become a thing of the past. Although a hoard of Gupta gold coins is reported to have been discovered, elsewhere in Mayurbhanj district[54], the gold coinage of the Guptas is not known in Orissa, in such large numbers, as the silver punch-marked pieces, those of the imitation Kushāṇa coppers or the so-called Gaṅga-*fanams* in gold which definitely formed the regular currency of this region. 'It

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53. See Chapter III.

54. Orissa District Gazetteers, *Mayurbhanj*, pp. 57-58 ; also see Chapter IV.

should be noted here, that gold coins seldom come to the notice of the historians, as the finders invariably convert their coin-finds into ornaments or in some other forms useful to them. In most cases, gold and silver coins go to the melting pots of the goldsmiths, as soon as they are discovered, mainly due to the ignorance of the finders, of their historical value. Thus, in the absence of any other corroborative evidence, it is reasonable to think, at the present state that, the Gupta gold pieces infiltrated into Orissan territory through merchants as commodity of value, which also served at times as a fine media of exchange. They were probably brought to this region, during a period when certain parts of Orissa were ruled by the Gupta viceroys under the Later Guptas.

The tradition of minting gold coins were maintained by many independent royal families, after the decline of the Imperial Guptas, who had a well-planned currency system. But their coins, being made of debased gold, constituting poorer substitutes for the earlier gold coins, such as those of the Guptas and Kushāṇas, were meant for circulation within the dominions of the respective royal families. Amoug such, royal families, who issued coins, reference may be made to the rulers of Śarabhapura who issued repousse type coins in base gold. These coins have been frequently[55] found in western part of Orissa (Kalahandi-Bolangir region) which included within their kingdom, forming part of South Kosala. Other coins in base gold found frequently in this region, belong to the Kalachuris of Tripuri and Ratnapūra.[56] These debased gold coins of the Śarabhapuriyans or the Kalachuris are seldom found in the coastal districts of Orissa which did not comprise within their dominions. Moreover, the standard of metallic value of these coins were not so high, as those of the gold coins of the Guptas and the Kushāṇas. Probably for this reason, these coins were not so popular in the coastal region of Orissa and confined to their respective area of circulation in ancient South Kosala region.

Copper coins, probably belonging to the Nala dynasty of Bastar region of Madhya Pradesh have been found in Balasore district.[57] The discovery of a single hoard of these coins may not be taken to be its circulation as currency. But its discovery in the coastal region of Orissa would certainly suggest some commercial activities and trade relations of the Nala kingdom with that of Utkala. Copper coins were also accepted as legal tender in distant land outside the original area of their circulation. They served evidently the need for smaller transactions and satisfied the needs of people in their everyday life. Copper coins, although made of cheaper metal than those of silver and gold, were often hoarded, having some intrinsic value,

55. See Chapter V.
56. See Chapter VII.
57. See Chapter VI.

and often melted down for other purposes, for copper was also in great demand for manufacturing household materials by all classes of people. Thus copper coins of other countries, once entering into the market through commercial transactions, remained current and calculated according to the prevailing relative market value between coins of other metals or they were hoarded for other purposes stated above.

We have also coins of South Indian origin, probably in circulation during medieval period with the rise of the Imperial Gaṅgas and in the subsequent period. The gold coins of South Indian origin, especially the so-called Gajapti-*pagodas* have been found in Orissa, which were attributed to be the coins issued by the Gajapati kings of Orissa by earlier scholar, but now they have been ascribed to the Western Gaṅgas of Karnataka region.[58] Although these coins have been found in small number, they seem to be in circulation in Orissa, at least during period of the Gaṅga rule, as their epigraphical records mention several coin names of South Indian origin. Sometimes these coin names mentioned in the general sense for coined money, such as *māḍha*, *gadyāṇa*, *varāha*, *āchchu*, etc., and sometimes with specific names attached to them, or with name of the issuers.[59] Thus *ānai-āchchus*, generally denoting the so-called Gajapati-*pagodas* having elephant symbol, were brought to Orissa by moneyers or different mercantile guilds during the Gaṅga rule and remained current along with other coins.

Similarly the gold coins of the Yādava rulers of Devagiri[60], called *hem-āchchu*, as known from *Dravya-parīkshā* of Ṭhakkura Pheru, have been found in Orissa, though in small number. The gold coins of the Yādavas have been discovered in a wide area, besides, different parts of Andhra Pradesh in the South, in Mahārāshṭra. Chhattisgarh in Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. Although there is no epigraphic or other evidences to corroborate the Yādava rule in Orissa, the finds of their coins may indicate trade activities with the Orissan territories. Since gold coins travel long through trade and travel, and as they have certain definite metallic value, they were accepted by all as valuable commodity, though they may not form the currency, but occasionally used as coin in higher commercial transactions.

Large hoards of gold *paṇams* or *fanams* as popularly known and attributed to the coinage of the Imperial Gaṅga rulers have now been discovered from all parts of Orissa.[61] Since the Gaṅgas hailed from the South India, their coinage also reveal influence of the South Indian coinage. Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga, who is known to be the founder of the Imperial Gaṅga line and under whom the whole of Orissa came to be united at the beginning of the 12th century A.D., was matrimonially related to the Imperial Cholas in the South. He seems to have introduced this gold coinage,

58. See Chapter XI.
59. See Chapter X.
60. See Chapter IX.
61. See Chapter X.

which continued to be in circulation during the rule of the Sūryavaṁśī Gajapatis who succeeded the Gaṅgas. The large finds of these *fanams* throughout Orissa would definitely suggest that they were used for currency purpose during 12th-13th centuries A.D.

These brief references to the actual finds of different types of coins of different metals, some of them being definitely attributed to particular dynasties of different parts of Indian sub-continent, which no doubt infiltrated into Orissa by way of trade and remained current for a long time. This is corroborated by the early medieval epigraphical records of Orissa as will be presently seen. As regards the silver punch-marked coins, which continued to be in use for several centuries as revealed by the inscriptions have already been discussed earlier. During the post-Mauryan period, with the cessation of the supply of silver punch-marked coins, a change is noticed in the Orissan coinage and currency system. In the absence of any chronological history of Orissa of the period after the decline of the Mauryan rule till the rise of Khāravela and again after Khāravela till Samudragupta's Southern campaign, it is difficult to say on the type of currency prevalent here, although we know that the silver punch-marked coins were in active circulation throughout the land. But during 3rd-4th centuries of the Christian era, we find the circulation of cast copper coins, which appear to have continued in use till atleast 7th century A.D. Gold coins are extremely rare for currency purpose during this period, except a few Kushāṇa and Gupta gold coins which could not have met the needs of the common people, who required small currencies for day-to-day transactions. Actual specimens of Kushāṇa and Gupta gold coins in Orissa show that they were used as ornaments and hoarded as standard of value. Their occasional use in higher transactions, as a media of exchange of high value, is indicative of their use not as coined money, but as valuable commodity. Thus it seems, the copper coins in imitation to the Kushāṇa copper pieces, became one of the common media of exchange, along with the silver punch-marked coins, during this period.

Epigraphical records of early and medieval Orissa mention frequently the word *hiraṇya* denoting "price in cash" in connection with various types of taxes, especially on the occasion of land grants made by the royal families. It is quite clear from this term, that metallic money whether stamped or unstamped were in use side by side with other media of exchange. The reference to the use of metallic weights are not rare in our epigraphic as well as literary records in various parts of India. Unstamped metallic pieces known as *ḍhabbu* or *ḍhabbukas* were in extensive use in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Bengal and other parts of India till the beginning of the present century.[62] In the Telugu speaking region in the South, this term is still known as *ḍābbu* denoting money. It is not unlikely, that Orissa had also adopted the practice of using bullions of various metals, especially of copper for

62. *JNSI*, Vol. VI, pp. 57-58.

smaller transactions during medieval and late medieval period, as elsewhere in India.[63] Unstamped silver pieces along with silver punch-marked coins and Roman gold coins have been discovered at Eyyal in Kerala.[64] The occurrence of *nishka*, *śatamāna*, *pāda*, etc. in vedie literature are generally taken to be originally metallic pieces of certain weight standard. Later on these terms were applied to the coined money.

The earliest reference to a coin-name called *aripiṇḍaka-churṇikā* is found in a copper plate record issued by a feudatory chief who was ruling under Gopachandra probably an independent ruler of Bengal during about 6th century A.D.[65] The territorial unit in charge of this feudatory, comprised within the Daṇḍabhukti *maṇḍala* which again included within it, the area comprising now the northern part of Balasore district where the record has been discovered. This coin-name is known from the inscription for the first time. Since no coin of this name, is known so far, it is at the present state, difficult to identify it with any known coin, discovered in this area. Of the early coins, the silver punch-marked coins and the so-called Puri-Kushāṇa coins are known to have been discovered in this region. The word *aripiṇḍaka-churṇikā*, obviously, denotes here to a certain type of coin, hundred of which (*aripiṇḍaka-churṇikā-śatam-ekam*) were fixed as the annual rent of the gift village. Churṇikā, mentioned in this inscription may not indicate cowries and hundred cowries for the annual rent of a village is too low in value to take into consideration. It is likely that the term denoted the silver punch-marked coins which were in active circulation during the period under question. It is also known that *churṇi* is a synonym for *Kārshāpaṇa*, denoting these coins.

Another coin-name *paṇa* in early copper plate records of Orissa[66], may denote the silver punch-marked coins, which was also known to ancient writers as *paṇa*, *kārshāpaṇa*, *purāṇa* or *dharaṇa*. Besides, copper coins were also sometimes termed as *paṇa*, as revealed by the *Arthaśāstra* and the Budnhist *Jātakas*. The so-called Puri-Kushāṇa coins which were also in circulation side by side with the silver punch-marked coins during 5th-6th centuries, probably calculated in *paṇa* of

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63. We have a number of gold pieces in the collection of the Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar (exact place of their discovery is not recorded, though they are reported to have been discovered from Kalahandi district). They are round in spape having a small hole at the centre and no stamp on them. They may also be taken to be one type of ornament, worn on the neck by stringing the pieces ; the photograph of the exact specimens has been given by S. R. Nema in *JNSI*, Vol. XLII, Part II, Plate III. But they are not actually ear-ornaments.
64. *Ancient India*, No. 2, p. 120.
65. *OHRJ*, Vol. XI, No. 4, pp. 206-233ff.
66. *IO*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 44ff.

lesser metallic value. However, it is not possible to know and identify definitely in the presence of coins of both the metals and their continued circulation for many centuries, the term *paṇa*, with the available specimens. Inscribed pieces of the Puri-Kushāṇa types bear the legend *ṭaṅka* probably denoting them in a general sense for metallic money. The Hindol Plate of Śubhākara of *Samvat* 103 (corresponding to 839-40 A.D.) of the Bhaumakara dynasty, mentions *hiraṇya-paṇa*, denoting price in metallic money probably either in silver or copper.[67] The inscription throws welcome light on the ancient monetary weights and measures adopted in Orissa. It mentions four *paṇas* to be fixed as the daily payment to the servitor of the temple. It is interesting to note that four *paṇas* were equal to 320 *ratis* which was the weight of one *pala* of silver according to ancient Indian literature and which was prevalent in early and medieval Orissa. One *paṇa* or *kārshāpaṇa* being equal to 80 *ratis* or one *karsha* in weight, according to Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* and the *Smṛiti* writers, it is evident from this inscription that *paṇa* of this epigraph denoted *kārshāpaṇa* or the silver punch-marked coins, which was a fraction of the *śatamāna* or *pala* monetary weight standard. But the *paṇa* here may also apply to the copper coins which was also equal to 80 *ratis* or one *karsha*. The daily payment of four *paṇas* may likewise denote the copper coins of that amount and there was also no dearth of copper coins in this part of the country as the Puri-Kushāṇa coins were abundantly available throughout Orissa, apart from the silver punch-marked coins. *Paṇa* here appears to be more likely to denote copper coins having less metallic value than those of the silver pieces, and used probably for the daily payment of salaries and other smaller day-to-day transactions. As *paṇa* is invariably referred to in all the three metals, viz., gold, silver and copper, in ancient literature and in the absence of any evidence to show the value relationship between the metals of the coins prevalent in Orissa during this period, it is however, difficult to reach to any definite conclusion regarding the metal of the coin referred to in this epigraph.

Besides the term *rūpya* and *paṇa* in the early medieval records of Orissa, denoting silver punch-marked coins, already discussed above, the copper plate records of the early Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga, who established their rule during the later part of the 5th century A.D., mention coin-names or the monetary weight *māḍa*, or *māḍha*, a South Indian term for *māsha* in Sanskrit. Frequent references to this term, in association with names of several issuers of coins, are met with in the epigraphical records of the Imperial Gaṅgas and the Sūryavaṁśī Gajapati rulers of Orissa. During medieval period, the epigraphs as well as the literary sources show the use of the monetary weight of *māḍha*, which was probably 40 *ratis* in

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67. B. Mishra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, p. 15 (lines 23-24). Scholars have wrongly taken this term as denoting cowrie, calculated in *paṇa*, Cf. A. P. Saha, *Life in Medieval Orissa*, p. 116 ; also B. Mishra, *Op.cit.*, pp. 11, 15, 23, 24.

weight. The term was applied in the general sense of a coin and different kinds of *mādas* are mentioned in the medieval epigraphs of Orissa.[68] *Māḍa* is invariably mentioned in the epigraphs as *gaṇḍa māḍa*, probably denoting a gold coin and it is interesting to note that *gaṇḍa-māḍa* is often mentioned as *gaṇḍa-nishka*[69], *kārshā-paṇa*[70], *nishka*[71] etc., *nishka* being the name applied to gold coins in ancient literary texts. The epigraphical records refering some *māḍa* coins named after the kings of different countries outside Orissa, especially belonging to Southern India, who issued them and their identification with the actual specimens known so far, would suggest that *māḍa* was applied to coins of any metal. Several varieties of *māḍa* coins were current in Orissan market side by side with coins of Orissan origin. It is known from an inscription in the temple at Draksharam that Chola-mahādevī, queen of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga of the Imperial Gaṅga line, donated some *Kulottuṅga-māḍas* to the temple of Bhīmeśvara.[72] These coins were evidently named after the Chola king Kulottuṅga who issued them. Apart from *māḍa* or *māḍha*, medieval epigraphs also refer to the *rūpya*, *paṇa*, *chūrṇi*, and *purāṇa*, evidently names applied to the coins of North Indian origin.[73] The terms *purāṇa* and *chūrṇi* generally applied to the old silver punch-marked coins which, as evident from the epigraphs of medieval Orissa, continued to be used as currency till as late as 12th century. The Alagum inscription of the time of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga of his regnal year 62, records the deposit of one hundred *chūrṇis* added by five *purāṇas* (and separately mentioned in figures as *pu* 105, i.e. *purāṇas*) with the servitor of the temple of Gartteśvara, for providing an *akhaṇḍa-dīpa* or perpetual lamp.[74] There is no reason to believe, as D. C. Sircar has suggested, that the *purāṇas* and *chūrṇis* mentioned in this inscription, have been used in the sense of *kārshāpaṇa* (Oriya, *kāhaṇa*) which was equal to 1280 cowrie-shells and thus not the coins, but cowrie-shells equal to 105 *purāṇas*, amounting 134,400 were deposited for the purpose mentioned above. While several Gaṅga epigraphs mention *gaṇḍa-nishka, kārshāpaṇa* etc. denoting gold coins and their use in transactions, it is not unlikely that *purāṇa* and *chūrṇi* of this epigraph denoted silver coins, probably the punch-marked coins

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68. See Chapter X.
69. *SII*, Vol. VI, Nos. 932, 1137, also *IO*, Vol. V, Part I, pp. 321, 330, 385, etc.; also see Appendix III.
70. *JKHRS*, Vol. I, p. 152.
71. *EI*, Vol. V, p. 32 ; *SII*, Vol. VI, No. 960 ; also see Appendix III.
72. *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 1052 ; The *māḍa* or *māḍai* coins with prefixes of the issuers such as *Rājendra-Solan*, *Rājarāja-māḍa*, *Kulottuṅga-māḍa* etc., were current in the Chola country in South India, Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins*, p. 65.
73. See Appendix III.
74. *EI*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 44-47ff.

which were known in ancient times as *purāṇa* ; *dharaṇa* or *kārshāpaṇa*, and sometimes as *chūrṇi*.[75]

Besides the coin-names of different regions of India, with name of the issuers attached to them or specifying dynastic issues, such as *Kulottuṅga-māḍa*, *Uttama-gaṇḍa-māḍa*, *Surabhi-māḍa*, *Malla-māḍa*, *Tyāgī-māḍa* etc., names of specifying metals of the coins such as *paiṇḍi* or *pahiṇḍi-māḍa* (gold *māḍa*) *gaṇḍa-māḍa*, even sometimes coins of specific names, popularly known, such as *ārchu* or *āchchu-māḍa*, *chāmara-māḍa*, *gaṇḍa-hasti-māḍa* etc., are known from the epirgaphical records to have been in use during the medieval period. We have also evidences to show the use of silver coins of the Muslim ruler. The Gaṅga epigraphs, especially those of the later Imperial Gaṅgas and of the Sūryavaṁśī Gajapati rulers of Orissa, invariably mention the coin-names like *śāśukāni-ṭaṅkā*, *veṇḍi-ṭaṅka*.[76] They are obviously the silver billon coins issued by the Sultans of the Tughlak dynasty of Delhi Sultanate, which were widely popular during the reigns of Mahammed-bin-Tughlak (1325-51 A.D). and Firuz Shah (1351-88 A.D.).[77] *Ṭaṅkā* or *ṭaṅka* in the sense of coined money, specifically denoting the silver coins of the Muslim and Mughal rulers during the medieval period, are frequently found mentioned in the Orissan epigraphs. The earliest reference to *śāśukāni-ṭaṅkā* in the Orissan epigraphs is found in an inscription of the Śaka year 1323 (A.D. 1401-2) of the time of Gaṅga Narashima IV (C. 1377-1413-14 A.D.). *Veṇḍi-ṭaṅkā* indicating silver coin, sometimes also mentioned as *ṭaṅkā-māḍa* obviously denoted the silver *ṭaṅkā* of the Muslim rulers. In the absence of silver coins of any other medieval Hindu rulers of South India or of Orissa, the *ṭaṅka-māḍa* obviously denoted the silver coins of the Muslims. During the rule of the later Imperial Gaṅgas and the Sūryavaṁśī Gajapatis, the popularity of the silver *ṭaṅka* with its various denominations, especially the *sashghāni* (*śāśukāni* of the inscriptions), which was 1/8th of a Sultani *ṭaṅkā* and six *jitals* in value (48 *jitals* were equal to one silver Muslim *ṭaṅkā*), is evidenced from numerous epigraphs of the period.[78] There were also other denominations of this coinage, such as, *varahghani*, *doghani* etc., *sashghāni* being more popular

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75. That *purāṇa* and *chūrṇī* were synonymous and denoted silver coins called *kārshāpaṇa*, is also corroborated by epigraphical records of other parts of India. Cf. *EI*, Vol. XXIX, p. 45, and note 3. Thus it is not necessarily be regarded that the deposit was made in cowrie-shells, but in 105 *purāṇas* or *chūrṇis*, i.e. in coined money.
76. See Chapter X and also, Appendix III.
77. Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins*, p. 66.
78. A few silver and copper coins of Firuz Shah Tughlak, Khiliji Sultans and large hoards of Mughal silver coins are in the collection of the Orissa State Museum. But they have not yet been properly identified. Neither their provenances are properly recorded.

during the later Imperial Gaṅgas. We come across frequently, in the Sūryavaṁśī epigraphs, the smaller denomination called *doghani*, along with *sashghāni*, mentioned as *dokani* or *dukani*[78a]. This was equal to 2 *jitals* in value or 1/24th of a Sultani *ṭaṅka* and about 4 *ratis* in weight, though the weight was sometimes higher. A Sultani *ṭaṅka* of 48 *jitals* was equal to 96 or 100 *ratis* in weight. Two types of weight for the silver *ṭaṅka* were introduced by the Tughlaq dynasty for northern and southern parts of their empire, viz., 48 *jitals* for Northern India and 50 *jitals* for South Indian regions. The *śāsukāni* or *sashghāni* and the *dukani* or *doghani* of our epigraphs, presumably formed 1/6th and 1/24th respectively of the silver *ṭaṅka* of 48 *jitals*, prevalent in Northern India. It seems one silver *gaḍyaṇa*, the theoretical weight of which was 48 *ratis*, according to Bhāskarāchārya's *Līlāvatī* denoted ½ of a silver *ṭaṅka* of the Muslims during the medieval period. Various gifts to the temples were made in the *śāśukāni-ṭaṅkā*, along with *dokāni* salary of the temple servitors, price of land were determined in these *ṭaṅkās*. Although, we know during the Sūryavaṁśī rule and even during the later Imperial Gaṅga rule, whose inscriptions refer to these silver coins of the Muslim rulers, Orissa maintained an independent status, the finds of these coins or their frequent references in the contemporary epigraphs, may be due to their infiltration through trade and commerce with the Muslim kingdoms of the Deccan and Bengal in the north. The Muslim chronicles state Fizur Shah's invasion of Orissa during the reign of the Gaṅga ruler, Bhānudeva III (A.D. 1352-53-1378). Before this invasion, Bhānudeva II, (A.D. 1306-7-1328) is also known from copper plate record of his successor to have successfully checked the invasion of Ulugh Khan, son of Muhammad-bin-Tughlak.[79] These invasions by the Muslim rulers of Delhi, though indirect (for they came through Deccan after defeating the Hindu rulers, the Kākatīyas of Warrangal) would indicate that their coins might have entered Orissa during this period, which became popular here as in other regions and remained current along with the coins of different Hindu dynasties already stated. Their frequent mention in the epigraphs of the time of the Sūryavaṁśī rule would also indicate that the silver coins of the Muslim rulers entered into Orissa in large number and all higher transactions were made mainly with these coins.

The *Mādalā-Pāñji*, the well known Jagannāth temple chronicle, though not reliable for the reconstruction of the political history, it definitely contains some historical traditions, which may be helpful for the history of currency system and media of exchange, atleast for the period of Imperial Gaṅga and the Gajapati rules in Orissa. It refers to certain weights of gold and silver currency which included *rati, chinā, māḍha, tolā* etc.[80] Sāralā Dāsa who flourished in the early part of 16th

78a. *SII*, Vol. VI, No. 895 ; *AR*, No. 289-K of 1899 etc.

79. *HCIP*, Vol. VI, (*The Delhi Sultanate*), pp. 361-62.

80. A. B. Mohanty (Ed.) *Mādalā-Pāñji*, pp. 29, 31, 32, 93, etc. ; for *chinā*, indicating coin-name, see Chapter X.

century A.D., also refers to *māḍa* or *māḍha*, and *chinā* as measures of weight for metallic money as well as gold and silver ornaments in his *Mahābhārata*. Ancient Indian metallic weight of *pala* and *karsha* have also been referred to in this literary work.[81] These references would suggest that the ancient Indian theoretical weight standards, prescribed for different metals were continued to be followed as the basic standard of calculation although theoretically, as it is well known that the value of different metals varied in different period, also from place to place. The *Bhakti-bhāgavata-mahākāvya*, another literary work of medieval Orissa, by Kavidiṇḍima Rājaguru Jīvadevāchārya, supplies us with an interesting information, that king Pratāparudra, grandson of Kapilendradeva (1497-1540 A.D.) of the Sūryavaṁśa, issued gold coins bearing the figure of Gopāla (Kṛishṇa). It also states that the coins bore the name of the king and were in circulation in many lands.[82] But, no coin of Pratāparudradeva of the Sūryavaṁśī Gajapati family has so far been discovered in Orissa. It seems an exagerative narration by the poet who was probably in the court of Pratāparudra Gajapati, in order to eulogise the king's achievements.[83] On the other hand, we know the gold coins of the Vijayanagar emperors, having figure of Kṛishṇa or Gopāla, especially those of Kṛishṇadevarāya, who was contemporary and rival of the Orissan king Pratāparudra. It is probable to think that, these coins of the Vijayanagar emperors infiltrated into Orissan kingdom like other coins of South Indian origin, as stated earlier, and remained current, which Jīvadevāchārya mistook for the coins of Pratāparudra.

Thus the above discussion so far appears to indicate, although roughly, the currency situation in Orissa which existed from the earliest period when the coined money was introduced here. The evidences so far reveal the continuation of earlier forms of currency for longer period as well as presence of large number of non-indigenous coins of different periods. In spite of the controversies among scholars over the disputed reference in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, of state minting and state control over the circulation of coins, in early times, the continuation of non-contemporary and non-indigenous currency would suggest that state had no control over the circulation of coins. The varied and fragmentary character of the early

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81. Sarala Dasa, *Mahābhārata*, (A. B. Mohanty Ed.), *Vana-Parva*, Part I, pp. 232-293.

82. *Gopāla-mūrti-ruchirā nava-hema-mudrā yan-nāma-varṇa-likhana-āṅkana-bhāsamānā* I. *sarvāsu dikshu viharanti yadīya-śukti-muktāś-cha kaṇṭha-kuhare sudhīyam luṭhanti* II; *Navabhārata* Oriya), Vol. VI, No. 6, p. 295; *Utkal University Souvenir*, 1948, p. 113; Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins*, p. 247, Note 1.

83. See also Chapter XI.

medieval politics in Orissa and the lack of any consistent currency need was perhaps responsible for such a currency situation. This complicated currency situation appears to have become more complex in character during the medieval period, as revealed by the later Gaṅga and Sūryavaṁśī epigraphs. Moreover, in the absence of any concrete evidence of the existence of any rigid system of determining the value relationship between different varieties of coins of other countries, between the new and old coins which were simultaneously in use, it is difficult to ascertain the value of different metallic coins and their different denominations prevalent in Orissa. It is now a well-known fact that value of metals varied from place to place and period to period. It is evident from the medieval Orissan records that the commercial communities, mercantile guilds, traders and moneyers often circulated coins of different foreign countries, side by side with the coins issued by ruling authorities. It seems, exchange between coins of different metals, particularly in case of coins of high metallic value was a profitable undertaking which practice is also known to have been prevalent in other parts of the country as corroborated by various accounts of the foreign travellers. Frequent references to money-changers and speculators are found in the works of the medieval foreign travellers like Barbosa, Varthema, Ferishta and others.[84] This situation which existed till 18th century, has been referred to by F. J. Richards, as he writes about the situation in several districts of Madras, "......the various coins were articles of trade and their face value meant nothing. The value of any particular denomination of coin as a medium of exchange depended on what people would give for them, and this 'market value' fluctuated from time to time and varied from place to place. If Government were to insist on the revenue being paid in one particular kind of currency, the shroffs would be sure to buy up the available coins of that currency and by creating a 'corner'...would inflict a great handicap on the public".[85] The same practice seems to be in vogue in different parts of Orissa in earlier times, as indicated by the references to the existence of non-contemporary and non-local coins in the epigraphical records. The circulation of the non-contemporary and non-indigenous coins in medieval Orissa would also indicate that the minting authority was extremely diffused as in other parts of Southern India. It is evident from the above epigraphical evidences, the commercial communities, mercantile guilds, bankers and traders often issued coins side by side with the royal authorities. For this, licences were often issued to these organizations from the royal authorities, which practice is also noticed even during 17th and 18th centuries in some parts of India.[86] D. C. Sircar has rightly pointed out, "In ancient and medieval India, the

84. T. V. Mahalingam, *Economic Life in the Vijayanagar Empire*, pp. 136-37.
85. F. J. Richards, *Salem* (Madras District Gazetteers), Vol. I, Part I, Madras, 1916, pp. 291-92.
86. *JNSI*, Vol. VII, pp. 78 ff,

right to mint coins was generally leased out to goldsmiths and in the age of punch-marked coins, even their issues were similar to those minted by the goldsmiths. There was also large scale imitation and private production so that it is not usually possible to classify the coins with reference to their sources in the present state of our knowledge".[87] He also draws our attention to the fact that the old silver punch-marked coins were current side by side with the coinage of the Śātavāhanas in their kingdom, apparently manufactured by private moneyers.[88] The same was also the case with the Gupta gold coins.[89] Even during the late medieval period, in the dominions of Shivaji, "32 different kinds of gold coins and 6 varieties of silver money were current, some of which were foreign issues".[90] Instances of free circulation of foreign coins in early medieval and in the subsequent period in Orissa have already been cited above. The state had no control on the entry of original Kushāṇa copper coins, coins of the Kalachuris, the Yādavas and others. Evidences have also been cited of the circulation of the punch-marked, imitation Kushāṇa coins along with Kushāṇa originals, for many centuries. Besides, the interesting point to be noted here that the early medieval royal families of Orissa, i.e., the Māṭharas, the Śailodbhavas, the Bhaumakaras, the Somavaṁśīs and many others did not have coinage of their own. They seem to have managed with the old coins already in circulation in the Orissan market and other means of exchange.

The above discussion on the currency situation during early and medieval Orissa would also suggest that barter system continued to exist along with non-metallic currency like cowrie-shell, commonly used in rural areas. In order to have a more detailed analysis of the currency structure of Orissa in early and medieval Orissa, it would not be out of place to refer to the use of non-metallic currency, and other media of exchange, which supplemented the metallic currency to a great extent, in all the stages of the currency history of Orissa. We have references to cowrie as a means of exchange, in our epigraphic as well as literary records. It was as popular as in other parts of India, is evidenced from the discovery of large number of cowries along with ancient coins.[91] The cowrie-shell as a medium of exchange was in use from a remote past and continued to be used in commercial transactions along with coined money even as late as 18th century A.D.[92] This is also evidenced from the accounts of the foreign travellers from early times till the beginning of the British rule in this part of the country. The Chinese

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87. Sircar, *Numismatic and Epigraphical Studies*, p. 13.
88. *Ibid*, p. 13.
89. Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins*, p. 235.
90. *Ibid*, p. 274.
91. *JNSI*, Vol. XIII, pp. 92 ff.
92. Sircar, *Numismatic and Epigraphical Studies*, p. 46,

pilgrim Hiuen-tsang during 7th century A.D. says about the people of Koṅgoda (the region around the Ganjam district of Orissa) that in commercial transactions, they use cowrie-shells and pearls. He also says, "Rare and precious substances of various kinds from the sea-ports are bartered for merchandise; but in the commerce of the country, gold and silver coins, cowries and small pearls are the media of exchange".[93] The continued use of cowrie-shells as money seems to corroborate the inscriptions of the Imperial Gaṅgas, Sūryavaṁśī Gajapatis and the *Mādalā Pāñji*, the Jagannāth temple chronicle.[94] S. C. De writes, "During the Mughal rule in Orissa, the total revenue payable was assessed in *dams*, but it was originally calculated in cowrie".[95] Thomas Bowry, who visited a village in eastern Orissa in the 17th century, found cowrie-shell as the "only money known to the village folk and the whole population of an Oriya village was unable to change a single *rupee* into cowries and that the villagers were even unable to distinguish between silver and German silver".[96] Although, cowrie-shell has no monetary value during the present day, it is still an important unit of monetary calculation, for the works in Oriya, Bengali and other regional Indian languages containing mathematical tables known as *Paṇakiyā*, *Kaḍākiyā* etc., based on the calculation of cowrie-shells. The unit for calculation for this table is *kaḍā*, *kauḍā* or *kauḍi*, the variants for cowrie and its calculation is made as follows:

4 *kaḍās*	= 1 *gaṇḍā*			
20 ,,	= 5 ,,	= 1 *boḍi*		
80 ,,	= 20 ,,	= 4 ,,	= 1 *paṇa*	
1280 ,,	= 320 ,,	= 64 ,,	= 16 ,,	= 1 *kāhaṇa*

(or one silver rupee)

The *kāhaṇa* mention in the above table is same as the *kārshāpaṇa* in Sanskrit which was obviously the *paṇa*, *purāṇa* or *dharaṇa* of ancient theoretical weight standard, weighing one *karsha* or 80 *ratis*. In Oriya lexicons, *purāṇa*, *chūrṇi* denoting ancient names for silver punch-marked coins, have been taken as synonyms for *kāhana* which was equal to 1280, cowrie-shells.[97] The arithmetical calculations in the

93. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels*, Vol. I, p. 178.
94. *JASB*, Vol. LXI (1892), pp. 43 ff; Vol. LXII (1893), pp. 91ff; A. B. Mohanty, *Gadya Padyādarśa* (Oriya), p. 48.
95. *OHRJ*, Vol. I, pp. 1-10 ff.
96. Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins*, pp. 279-80; also see Thomas Bowry, *A Geographical Account of the countries Round the Bay of Bengal, 1666 to 1669* (Ed. by R. C. Temple, 1905), p. 200.
97. Cf. *Pramoda Abhidhāna*, s. v. *chūrṇi* and *purāṇa*.

Līlāvatī of Bhāskarāchārya, who flourished in Maharastra during about the end of 13th century, practically contains the same table. He mentions *kākiṇī*, denoting small copper coins, in place of *boḍi*, which was 1/4th of a copper *paṇa* in value. He mentions *dramma* for *kāhaṇa* apparently indicating a silver coin of the same weight standard.[98] This table also shows that cowries were considered units for calculation of the old silver coins known as *kārshāpaṇa*, *dramma* etc. According to the *Līlāvatī* :

20 cowries	= 1 *kākiṇī*				
80 cowries	= 4 ,,	= 1 *paṇa*			
1280 ,,	= 64 ,,	= 16 ,,	= 1 *dramma* (same as *kāhaṇa* or a silver coin)		
20480 ,,	= 1024	≈ 256,,	= 16	,,	= 1 *nishka* (or gold coin).

This system of arithmetical calculations of cowries in the *Līlāvatī* of Bhāskarāchārya was followed in different parts of Orissa as is evidenced by a large number of palm leaf manuscripts containing its Oriya translation by several writers in late medieval period.[99] In one of these works, dealing with the calculations of *Līlāvatī*, we find the variants of cowrie as *kaḍā*, *varāṭaka*, synonym for *kākiṇī* of *Līlāvatī* is used here as *boḍi*, and for *dramma* as *kāhaṇa*. Thus Dhanañjaya Dvija's *Līlāvatī* in Oriya, gives the following stanza on the calculation of cowrie were used by tale and not by weight :

Śuṇa sādhujane rasa pavitra saṅgati /
kauḍira saṁkhyā yāhā achhiṭi pravartti he //
kaḍā voli varāṭaka voḍika kākiṇi /
chāri voḍi hele paṇa voliṇa vakhāṇi he //
shoḍaśa dramma avā shoḍaśa paṇare kāhaṇa /
niśchaya kari jāṇa tumbhe tāhā he //
shoḍaśa drammare nishka prachārita jāṇa /
eteka kahilā savu kauḍi pramāṇa he //[100]

According to this work, the calculation of cowries given in the above stanza is as follows :

98. *Līlāvatī*, I, 2.
99. Palmleaf manuscripts containing *Līlāvatī* of Bhāskarāchārya, translated into Oriya by Lokanāth, Dhanañjaya Dvija, Kṛipāsindhu and several others are now in the collection of the Manuscript library of the Orissa State Museum and they are not yet published.
100. This palmleaf manuscript is now preserved in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar ; also Cf. *JNSI*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 74, and Note 1.

4 *kadā* or *varāṭaka* = 1 *bodi* or 1 *kākaṇi*
80 ,, or ,, = 4 ,, or 4 ,, = 1 paṇa
1280 *kadā* or *varāṭaka* = 64 *boḍi* or 64 *kākiṇī* = 16 *paṇa*
16 *paṇa* = 1 *kāhaṇa* = 1 *dramma*
16 *kāhaṇa* or *dramma* = 1 *nishka*

In another place, the above work further says that two *dharaṇas* (i.e., the silver *kārshāpaṇa* or *purāṇa*), apparently same as *dramma*, each weighing 24 *ratis* made one *gadyāṇa*, which was evidently a gold coin; and which Bhāskarāchārya's *Līlāvatī* mentions as 48 *ratis*. But according to Bhāskarāchārya, $1\frac{1}{3}$ *dharaṇa* of the 32 *rati* standard were equal to one *gadyāṇa*. In this connection we may refer to the *pala* weight standard for coins, which was also known in ancient period as *śatamāna*. There were different traditions followed in different parts of the country in regard to the weight standard for *śatamāna* otherwise called *pala* and its different fractions. According to *Bhāvaprakāśa*, the tradition regarding the system of weight prevalent in the Kaliṅga country was:

8 *guñjā* (*rati*) = 1 *māsha* (also sometimes 7 *guñjās* made 1 *māsha*)
4 *māshas* (32 *ratis*) = 1 *paṇa* (otherwise called *nishka* and *ṭaṅka*)
6 *māshas* (48 *ratis*) = 1 *gadyāṇa*
10 *māshakas* or *māshas* (80 *ratis*) = 1 *karsha*
4 *karshas* = 1 *pala* which was equal to 10 *śāṇas*.[101]

Nishka and *ṭaṅka* otherwise called *śāṇa* in this work, denoted also to the silver coins is revealed by this tradition of the Kaliṅga country. That *pala* also denoted *śatamāna* and weighed 320 *ratis* is proved by the works of the ancient *Smṛiti* writers like Manu and Yājñavalkya.[102] Kshīrasvāmin's well-known commentary on the *Amarakosha* refers *śatamāna* as *rūpya-pala* (one *pala* of silver).[103] It appears that the traditions laid down by the ancient authorities was continued to be followed in the weight system of silver currency during early medieval and in the subsequent period in Orissa. But the weight of *śāṇa* otherwise called *ṭaṅka* or *nishka* according Kaliṅga system of measurement which was equal to 40 *ratis* and one-eighth of *śatamāna* was reduced to 32 *ratis* and regarded as one-tenth of a *śatamāna* or *pala* which remained 320 *ratis*. The weight of *śāṇa* or *ṭaṅka* also varied from place to place as known from the different traditions of their theoretical weights prevalent in other parts of

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101. *Māsho guñjābhir = ashṭabhiḥ saptabhir = vā bhavet kvachit |*
chaturbhir = māshakaiḥ śāṇaḥ sa nishkas = ṭaṅka eva cha ||
Gadyāṇo māshakaiḥ shaḍbhiḥ karshaḥ syād = daśa-māshakaiḥ |
chatus-karshaiḥ palam proktam daśa-śāṇa-mitam budhaiḥ ||
Cf. *JNSI*, Vol. XV, p. 152; also Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins*, p. 63.
102. Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins*, p. 51.
103. Ibid.

the country. Thus according to the tradition followed in Magadha, the weight of the *śāṇa* was 24 *rati* and according to some other works, it was modified as 20 *ratis*.[104] These modifications in the theoretieal weight standard of a particular denomination of silver or gold coin in different parts of the country, probably resulted from the modifications in the weight of those actual specimens prevalent in various parts of the country. The above palmleaf manuscript on *Līlāvatī* in Oriya refers to *nishka* as a gold coin and to *dramma* or *kāhaṇa*, same as *dharaṇa*, as a silver coin, which was again probably the same as *ṭaṅka, nishka* or *śāṇa* of the above tradition, prevalent in the Kaliṅga country. According to this manuscript the *dharaṇa* weighed 24 *ratis*, which was also the weight of a *śāṇa* (otherwise called *dharaṇa* and *ṭaṅka*) according to tradition prevalent in Magadha country as quoted by the author of *Bhāvaprakāśa*. Bhāskarāchārya, elsewhere in his *Līlāvatī* also mentions the weight of *dharaṇa* or *śāṇa* as 24 *ratis*.[105] It is interesting to note that the monetary weight *māḍa* as frequently seen in the medieval Orissan records, which is known to be a derivation of Tamil *māḍai*, has been recognized in Oriya lexicons in the sense of the weight of half a *tolā* or half a *karsha* which is 40 *ratis* in weight.[106] It seems, in case of weight of *māḍha* or *māḍa* coins, the theoretical weight prescribed for *śāṇa, ṭaṅka* or *nishka* denoting silver coins in the above works, was followed during the medieval period.

The relation of cowrie with the standard silver coin and their calculation in cowries were also prevalent in other parts of India. In Bengal, Madhya Pradesh, and other parts of Eastern India, the calculations laid down in the *Līlāvatī* were followed and 1280 cowrie-shells were considered equivalent to the old silver coin known in different parts in different names, such as, *dramma, kārshāpaṇa* or *kāhaṇa, ṭaṅka, dharaṇa* etc. Gradually *kāhaṇa* or *kārshāpaṇa* became a synonym for cowrie in Orissa which is evidenced from *Mādalā Pāñji* and subsequently accepted the same by various Oriya lexicons. But the value of cowrie was not the same in different parts of India in any particular period. The *Mādalā Pāñji* states that one silver *ṭaṅka* (of the Mughal emperors) was equivalent to 2 *kāhaṇas*, 2 *paṇas* of cowries during the Sūryavaṁśī rule, whereas during 1803, one silver *rupee* (of the British rulers) was equivalent to 4 *kāhaṇas* and 2 *paṇas* of cowries.[107] According to Abul Fazl, in Bengal one *rupee* was equal to 10 *kāhaṇas* of cowries.[108] In Chhattisgarh,

104. Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins*, p. 69.
105. *Ibid*, p. 66.
106. Cf. *Pramoda Abhidhāna*, also *Pūrṇachandra Oriyā Bhāshākosha*, s.v., *māḍha*.
107. *JASB*, Vol. LXI (1892), p. 49 ; also see. W. W. Hunter, *History of Orissa*, Note 337.
108. *JKHRS*, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 158.

5 cowries were equal to one *gaṇḍā*, whereas in Orissa and Bengal 4 cowries were taken to be one *gaṇḍā*.[109] The reason for these difference in the value of cowries in different parts of the country, was due to the local economic conditions and the difference in the monetary value of various metallic coins.

It may be pointed out here that payment of large sums, were not necessarily paid in all cases in cowries. The references to different metallic coins in the epigraphical records would suggest that payments were often made in metallic coins and as will be shown below, crops and other media of exchang along with cowries, also often served the purpose of currency in Orissa as elsewhere in India. Several copper plate records as well as votive inscriptions of early and medieval Orissa show that produces of the field such as paddy and other crops were used as currency. The land revenue was calculated very often in terms of produces of the field, although some royal charters reveal that annual rent was also fixed in terms of cash to be paid in certain amount of silver. The references to *meya* (king's share of grains[110]) *bhoga* and *bhāga* (king's share of the produce of the field[111]) with *kara*, *śulka* (different forms of taxes due to the kings), in the copper plate charters reveal that, collection was not always made in metallic money or cowries, but very often, grains or other produces of the field formed the bulk of the land revenue. The epigraphic records of the Śarabhapurīya kings, the Somavaṁśīs, the early eastern Gaṅgas and others of the early medieval period frequently mention the royal dues payable as *yathā-dīyamāna karo-hiraṇya-bhoga-bhāg-ādikam*···, which indicate that the different type of fixed revenue were collected in the form of grain as well as in cash. The word *hiraṇya* is found invariably in the copper plate charters of different royal families, mentioned in connection with payment of taxes, which seems to have been used in the sense of metallic money or in the sense of price in cash. There is no reason to believe that *hiraṇya* specifically denoted a gold coin, as believed by some scholars. The epigraphical records, especially of the early medieval period, frequently mentioning this term, do not obviously indicate gold coins, which fact is corroborated by the conspicuous absence of actual specimens of any gold coin issued by any royal family of the period. It appears clear from the epigraphical records that, metallic money together with grain as money were accepted by the royal treasury. This popular system of collecting revenues in grains was also followed in other parts of Indian subcontinent as revealed by the epigraphical records

109. *JNSI*, Vol. XXVIII, Part II, pp. 127 ff.
110. *IO*, Vol. II, pp. 238 ; Vol. II, pp. 238 ; Vol. IV, pp. 281-83 ; *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 342-45 ; Vol. XXXI, pp. 89-93 ff ; *JBORS*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 1-10 ff.
111. *IO*, Vol. IV, p. 102, Vol. VI, pp. 202 ff ; *IHQ*, Vol. XX, pp. 238-80 ff; *EI*, Vol. III, pp. 340-44 ff ; Vol, XVIII, pp. 298-99 ; *JASB*, Vol. I, (1905), pp. 5-6 and 12-13.

of the early medieval period of these regions. The royal charters of Assam shows that the income of the gift land was calculated in terms of paddy and the king's dues were also collected in its produce.[112]

Epigraphical records also show that the payment of salaries in grains was popular in Orissa as elsewhere in India since very early times. Kauṭilya's *Artha-śāstra* speaks of payment of salaries to the officers in grain, cattle and land, as has been discussed above in the context of payment of coined money for salary.[113] The early *Smṛiti* writers also support this fact and prescribe landed property, even suggest daily payment in the forms of paddy to the officials of different ranks.[114] This is supported by the accounts left by the ancient foreign travellers. The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-tsang says about the salary of the royal officers during his visit to this country; "Ministers of State and common officials all have their portion of land and are maintained by the cities assigned to them".[115] We have definite evidences from our early medieval epigraphical records of this practice of payment of salaries to the officers in terms of daily supply of paddy, yearly supply of paddy, the grant of landed property and so forth. The rulers of the Bhaumakara dynasty used to grant landed property to their officers, the priests and other common officers for their services. The Talcher grant of Śivakaradeva of the Bhauma year 149 (C. 885-86 A.D.)[116] and the Baud charter of Tribhuvana-mahādevī[117] of the Bhaumakara dynasty refer to this practice. The income of the gift village was divided into several shares, each share meant to meet the different expenditures specified in these charters. Out of these, one share was meant to meet the cost of maintenance of the family of the donee. We have instances of the use of both coin and grains means of payment in lieu of salaries. The Hindol plate of Śubhākaradeva of the Bhauma year 103 (C. 839-40 A.D.) mentions daily payment of six *āḍhakas* of rice along with four *paṇas* of price in cash or metallic money to the donee for his maintenance.[118] Sometimes; however, salaries were paid in gold coins. The *Mahābhārata* of Sāralā Dāsa refers to the expression *varttana* (Sk. *vetana*), paid in *māḍhas* of gold, apparently indicating gold currency, to the royal officers of

112. Sircar, *Numismatic and Epigraphical Studies*, pp. 46-47.
113. *Arth.*, V. 3, 31.
114. *Manu*, VII, 118-19, 125-26.
115. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. I, p. 176.
116. B. Mishra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, pp. 40-50 ff.
117. *EI*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 210 ff.
118. B. Mishra, *Op.Cit.*, pp. 14-17 ff ; *JBORS*, Vol. XVI, pp, 69-83. The *āḍhaka*, a measure for weighing grain is now called *aḍā* and still in use in some parts of Orissa.

high rank.[119] In some copper plate records of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Orissa, the writer and the engraver are stated to have received each a share of the land granted, evidently as fees for their services.[120] The Chicacole plates of the time of Madhukāmārṇavadeva of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty refers to the writer's share of 40 *murayas* of land apparently as the fee for his service rendered to the king.[121] In the Kendupatna plates of Narasiṁhadeva II of the Imperial Gaṅga dynasty, the writer and the keeper of the document (*Śāsanādhikārin*) and the engraver, the coppersmith (*Tāmra-lekhaka*) received two *vāṭikas* and one *vāṭika* of land respectively as fees for their services in connection with the grant, "according to the established custom", indicated by the expression *śāsanādhikāri-vyāvasthita.*[122] A minister for war and peace (*Sāndhivigrahin*) named Yaśodatta under Devānandadeva of the Nandodbhava dynasty was endowed with the grant of a village, apparently for his services to the king.[123] Inscription also reveal that sometimes land together with coined money were granted to different guilds, potters, etc. to supply requisites of the temples and royal household.[124] A Mukhalingam stone inscription of the Gaṅga king Vajrahasta III, dated A.D. 1058, refers to the grant of 5 *puṭṭis* of land for the supply of castor oil to the temple.[125] The royal authorities used to grant villages to the mercantile guilds known as *Vaiśyāgrahāra.*[126] The Mukhalingam inscriptions of the time of Choḍagaṅga speak of cash deposists or sometimes grant of lands to the guilds of oil men (*Telikas* or *Telikis*) of certain villages for the maintenance of perpetual lamps in the temples.[127] This practice of granting land to various caste organisations or individual members of the same, such as, oilmen, potters, washermen and so forth, in lieu of their salaries was also followed by the private individuals, especially by the rich people. It is interesting to note that; this tradition is still prevalent in the rural areas of Orissa. The potters, washermen, barbers and similar caste organizations in many villages are still paid in grains or granted lands for their services instead of price in cash. One of the reasons of the nonexistence of coins of early medieval royal families of Orissa, as

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119. A. B. Mohanty (Ed.), *Mahābhārata*, *Virāṭa-parva*, p. 178, Verses, 261-268.
120. *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 189, 193.
121. *JBORS*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 272-75 ; *JAHRS*, Vol. III, pp. 168-80 ff ; *IO*, Vol. II, pp. 174-80 ff.
122. *EI*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 188-89.
123. *EI*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 183-89 ff.
124. *MER*, p. 14, Nos. 151 and 152 ; p. 15, No. 166 etc.
125. *SII*, Vol. V, No. 1273.
126. *IO*, Vol. II, pp, 176 ff ; also see *IO*, Vol. IV, pp. 130-36 ff, the charter refers to the grant of land to the mercantile guild of Kamalavana.
127. *SII*, Vol. V, Nos. 1038, 1076.

the above evidences would reveal, was that the people of Orissa followed a mixed agricultural economy, which was sufficient enough to meet their needs. The kings, the traders and the moneyers did not feel the necessity for fresh coins owing to the existence of the plenty of old coins of valuable metals for trade and commerce. Moreover, cowries were abundantly available for smaller transactions in the market. And above all, the age old barter system especially exchange of articles like produces of the field or cattle continued throughout the ages.

From the above discussion, it may be assumed that coins of different metals and different denominations, side by side with bullions of precious metals weighed according to the existing weight standard, were used mainly in larger transactions, donations and building of religious institutions by the rich people. But the land revenue was often collected in metallic money though, it may not be taken always to be coined money as the inscriptions of the early medieval period show. The references to various types of coins in the early and medieval inscriptions of Orissa as well as the actual specimens belonging to these periods. found in Orissa, reveal that a large number of them were issued by different rulers of other parts of Indian sub-continent, which infiltrated into Orissa by way of trade or travel and passed as currency in the Orissan market. Thus coins of various ages and kingdoms, especially those of high metallic value were current for a long period in Orissa. As it has already been stated above, coins of different dynastic issues or coins issued by a particular king of a dynasty belonging to a kingdom outside Orissa e.g., the coins of Kulottuṅga Chola (known as Kulottuṅga-*māḍha*) of the Chola dynasty of South India were popular in the Gaṅga empire in Orissa. D. C. Sircar has rightly observed, as he says, "Coins once entering the Indian market remained in circulation for many centuries, and that, in many territories, it was not the state but the traders and moneyers who usually determined whether fresh coins required to be issued".[128] This is also evidenced from inscriptions of the early medieval period that the Orissan rulers did not issue coins but managed with the metallic money in silver known as *rūpya* which was weighed in *pala* weight standard, cowries and other media of exchange stated above. No coined money which can be assigned to the period under question, or can be taken to be the issues of the rulers of the Orissan royal families of the period like the Māṭharas, the Śailodbhavas, the Bhaumakaras, the Somavaṁśīs and others, have actually been discovered here so far. As we have already shown, the silver punch-marked coins possibly denoting the *rūpya* of the early medieval epigraphs, continued to be current in the Orissan market till about 12th-13th centuries. Apart from archaeological excavations, literary evidences from other parts of India also support this fact, that these coins were in long circulation, which Buddhaghosha referred to as the "old blue kārshāpaṇa" prevalent during atleast 5th century A.D.

128. Sircar, *Numismatic and Epigraphical Studies*, p. 17.

CONCLUSION

In the preceding pages, we have made an attempt to trace the numismatic history of the early and medieval Orissa with the available data, especially the actual specimens of coins so far known to have been discovered in various parts of this province. The study of the varieties of coins and analysis of the currency systems prevalent in early and medieval Orissa, would enable us to have a fair idea of the early and medieval Orissan economy in which the study of coins has a major contribution. Although, the analysis of the currency systems presented here, may not clarify the basic points of the economic history of Orissa, it would, atleast prove useful to know the economic systems of this region.

The varieties of coins enumerated in the preceding chapters may be broadly divided into two categories, viz. (1) the coins of indigenous origin which were issued or circulated by the Orissan royal families or trading communities in this region and (2) the coins of ther outside kingdoms which infiltrated into Orissa either through political expansion or by way of trade and commerce and passed as currencies in the Orissan market. Further, we may include another category of coins which travelled from distant lands through pilgrimage and remained current along with coins already in circulation in Orissan market. Thus the coins of different dynasties and others of different metals, found in Orissa have been variously approached which may enable us to have a definite conclusion on the significance of these coins in the context of Orissan history.

The so-called silver punch-marked coins were probably introduced into the Orissan market during the Magadhan supremacy in Kaliṅga in the 3rd century B.C. They are now known to be in continued circulation as currency till about 13th century A.D. which is corroborated by both archaeological as well as literary evidences. They have been identified with the *paṇa* or *kārshāpaṇa* of the ancient literary texts. The technique of manufacturing of these coins was by cutting the metal pieces of silver into various shapes and sizes and punching symbols of different animate and inanimate objects on them. The cut pieces were adjusted according to the existing weight system. Minute observations of the symbols punched on them would reveal certain peculiarities regarding their execution. Different punching devices seem to have been adopted in punching symbols belonging to the same variety. This would also suggest that the coins were manufactured by different goldsmiths who were entrusted with this work and who used different punching devices having symbols of the same variety. During the

Magadhan imperialism, these coins seem to have been supplied to different parts of the Magadhan empire from a centrally organized monetary system, but they were also manufactured by private organizations, various trading communities, moneyers and bankers. The early medieval epigraphical records reveal that these coins were calculated and measured in the *pala* standard of weight, the reference to which is met with in the works of the ancient *Smṛiti* writers and other literary texts.

The few copper coins of the Śātavāhanas especially those of the later Śātavāhana rulers found at Sisupalgarh would not suggest any political expansion by these rulers. But archaeological evidences from different parts of Orissa reveal cultural contacts with the Śātavāhana empire, which was contiguous to Kaliṅga, and the coins might have travelled through trade.

The so-called Puri-Kushāṇa or the imitation Kushāṇa cast copper coins were probably introduced in Orissa during 3rd-4th century A.D. when the Imperial Kushāṇa rule in North-West India had become a thing of the past. The abundant finds of these coins suggest that they actually formed the currency of Orissa during this period. Some scholars speculate Kushāṇa supremacy in this region on the basis of these finds. The alleged Kushāṇa original copper struck pieces, often found in association with the imitation cast coin types seem to have come to Orissa through the territories of the Yaudheyas of 3rd-4th century A.D. The clay mould used in the manufacturing of the cast imitations, although not yet discovered in Orissa, the technique of casting with the help of clay mould seems to have been imitated from the Yaudheyas. The clay moulds used for the Yaudheya copper coins which have been discovered in large number in the regions comprising within their dominions, along with the moulds for imitation Kushāṇa coppers would also suggest the same view. The cast imitations or the so-called Puri-Kushāṇa coins can be broadly divided into two broad varieties, viz., uninscribed and inscribed. The latter variety is generally assigned to a period later than that of the uninscribed ones mainly on the basis of the palaeography of the legend which may be assigned to about 4th or 5th century A.D. During this period, certain parts of Orissa were under the Guptas, who were ruling through their viceroys. Several epigraphical records reveal that during this period, Orissa was split up into several independent and semi-independent kingdoms. Thus the coins cannot be taken as the dynastic issues, but they seem to have been circulated by the trading communities for trade and commerce, as it is known that Orissa was used to money economy since earlier period. The circulation period of the coins may suggest that they were probably introduced during the Gupta rule in Orissa, through the traders, who had trade relations with the Yaudheya kingdoms. It is observed from the numismatic history of the Guptas that they have invariably followed the local numismatic traditions in their conquered territories. This is evidenced from their silver coinage modelled

after the Western Kshatrapas in Gujarat and copper coinage followed after the earlier copper issues in the Malava region. It seems the Gupta viceroys ruling in Orissa, adopted this copper coinage as the currency of this part of the Gupta empire, and it continued to be in circulation through the traders for several centuries, even after the cessation of the Gupta rule. The use of the Gupta era in several epigraphical records of the post-Gupta period in Orissa support this assumption and also the fact that Gupta cultural influence continued to be in existence till considerably a long period.

The gold coins of the Imperial Kushāṇas and the Guptas are very rarely found in Orissa, and this may suggest that they did not form the regular currency of this region. But due to their high metallic value, they were limited to higher commercial transactions and hoarded as a fine store of wealth. The Kushāṇa coin motifs were very much popular among the common people of Orissa, which induced them to preserve the coins in the form of ornaments. And, in fact, the few Kushāṇa gold coins found so far in Orissa are in the form of pendants. The practice of stringing coins into necklace or coins in the form of other ornaments, such as talismans, amulets, pendants can be traced back to the Vedic age which continue till recent times. Archaeological as well as literary evidences to this practice are frequently met with. The fine execution and artistic devices of some of the ancient coin-types, like the gold coins of the Kushāṇas and the Guptas have attracted the people even in modern times to preserve their artistic merit.[1] The clay moulds of the Gupta gold coins, found in other parts of India, though not in Orissa, may indicate that they were manufactured by the goldsmiths, even after the decline of the Gupta empire in Northern India. It is now well known that the gold and silver coins were manufactured by the goldsmiths with instructions from the ruling authorities. But, at times, instances are also known, that coins of high metallic value were prepared by the goldsmiths in various parts of India, even after the downfall of the coin issuing authority. This can very well be known from the various finds of the so-called Gajapati-*pagodas* in gold, which appear to have been imitated in a later period after the decline of the issuer or issuers of this coins.

The repousse type gold coins, issued by the rulers of Śarabhapura of South Kosala and those of the Nalas of Bastar regions, are also known to have passed as currency in certain parts of Orissa which included within South Kosala. The weight standard, size and scripts adopted for the coins of both the dynasties seem to suggest that they ruled contemporaneously in the above regions during 5th-6th centuries A.D. The Nala coins have also been found in association with those of Mahendrāditya, Kramāditya and Prasannamātra of Śarabhapurīya family. There are controversies among scholars regarding the identification of Mahendrāditya

1. For ancient coins as ornaments, see *New Aspects of History of Orissa*, Vol. III, pp. 32-39.

and Kramāditya, who are known only from their coins. But the device adopted for their coins as well as their distribution areas would suggest their attribution to the Śarabhapurīyan family or the Amarārya-*kula*.

The Kalachuris of Ratanpur are known to have occupied a portion of Western Orissa from the Somavaṁśīs of South Kosala. The debased gold coins of Ratnadeva, Pṛithvīdeva and Jājalladeva are frequently found in this part of Orissa. Their frequent finds may suggest that they formed the usual currency of this region, where some copper coins of these rulers have also recently come to light. Finds of some Kalachuri gold coins in Cuttack and Puri districts in the coastal regions of Orissa would indicate that they were carried by travellers or through mobilization of army, as it is known from the epigraphical records of the Kalachuris, the Somavaṁśīs as well as the Gaṅgas that there existed long and continuous struggle for supremacy over South Kosala region among the rulers of these royal families.

The Imperial Gaṅgas who are known to have hailed from the South and matrimonially related to the Cholas and the Chālukyas, introduced a new type of gold coins popularly known as the *paṇams* or the *fanams* as pronounced by the European scholars. They circulated these coins, after they had considerably secured their position by uniting the whole of Orissa under one sceptre. These *paṇams* were minted on the basis of the South Indian weight standard and seem to be considerably influenced by the Chola-Chālukya gold *fanams*. Their abundant finds in several hoards as well as in the form of necklace would suggest that they formed both currency and at the same time served the purpose of ornaments. They may be identified with the *chinnā-māḍa* and *chāmara-māḍa* of Gaṅga epigraphs. The religious symbols adopted as coin devices would suggest that the Gaṅgas adopted an eclectic policy towards all religious sects which was also followed by their successors, the Sūryavaṁśī Gajapatis. The coin devices, the influence of the Chola-Chālukya coinage and the practice of putting the regnal years on their coins show that these coins were first issued by the Imperial Gaṅgas which were subsequently adopted by the Sūryavaṁśī Gajapatis as their coinage.

The early and medieval epigraphical records of Orissa refer to coins or coin-names, which can be easily identified with the actual finds, known in Orissa and the adjoining regions. Some of them obviously belong to the coinage of other kingdoms, outside Orissa. There are certain coin-names which can be identified easily with the silver billon coins of the Sultanate of Delhi known as *sasghāni* and which became popular in Orissa as they are frequently referred to in the epigraphical records of the later Imperial Gaṅgas and the Sūryavaṁśīs. It is quite clear from the inscriptional references that from the 15th century onwards, the Muslim coins were in circulation along with gold and copper coins of the earlier period, some of which belonged to the South Indian ruling families. Thus *Kulottuṅga-māḍa*, *Gaṇḍahasti-māḍa*, *Malla-māḍa*, *Tyāgī-māḍa* and several others of our inscriptions do

not from the Orissan issues but passed as currencies in the Orissan market. It can very well be observed from the inscriptional references that, coins once entering the market continued to be in circulation for many centuries and there was no state control on the entry of various types of coins from outside kingdoms. This is also corroborated by archaeological as well as literary evidences. The metallic value of the coins were considered more important than its face value.

In the early medieval period, the paucity of coined money is noticed from the evidences furnished by the inscriptions. Besides, it is clear from the records that the early medieval royal families did not issue coins of their own currency purpose. At the same time, evidences are also forthcoming that these families managed with the old coins which were already in existence in the Orissan market. The instance of the silver punch-marked coins can very well be cited here which continued to be in circulation till 12th-13th centuries in Orissa. It is now well known that many big royal families had no coinage of their own, but managed with the time-honoured cowrie-shells, the already existing old coins of high value, together with other media of exchange prevalent since very early times. Produces of the field formed a fine media of exchange and it is now known from various sources that the revenue of a kingdom was invariably collected in paddy or other food-grains. Moreover cowries served the purpose of the day-to-day transactions of the common people, which solved the problem of the paucity of metallic coins to a great extent. The epigraphs also show that the royal officers were granted lands in lieu of their salaries, for their services. This practice of granting land for various services is also known from the ancient literary sources like the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya.

The system of mixed economy discussed above, which was prevalent throughout the ages, was one of the reasons for the irregularity of the coined money, noticed in the Orissan currency history.

APPENDIX ONE

UNSTAMPED COINS (?)

A big hoard of tiny coin-like pieces in copper (Plate No. LIV, Fig. 2) was unearthed sometime during 1972-73 while digging for the construction of a road leading to the well-known Dhauli hill near Bhubaneswar in Puri district.[1] The famous special Rock Edict of Aśoka is located by the side of this road. The hoard is reported to have been found during the construction of the Peace Pagoda and the said road on the above hill by the Japanese Peace Mission. The copper pieces were kept in an earthen jar which was broken to pieces during their discovery and now missing, according to the local information. The total weight of these pieces was about one kilogram. But, unfortunately, it is not possible now to examine all the pieces as they were disbursed by the local people among themselves and their whereabouts are not known. Only seven pieces out of the hoard could be obtained with much difficulty from a resident of the village Dhauli on the bank of the Dayā river.

The size of these copper pieces resembles the so-called Gaṅga-*fanams*, round in shape, and their measurements vary from 1 cm. to 0.8 cm. in diameter. The uniformity in their weight is absent, but most of the pieces appear to conform nearly to the usual weight standard of the Gaṅga-*fanams*, i.e. 6.7 or 6.5 grains (0.453 gms). The variation in weight is due to the peculiar process of their manufacturing, which is interesting to note. The general fabric of these pieces would show that they were manufactured in batches, with the help of clay moulds having four sides opening channels, the same process followed as in the case of the so-called Puri-Kushāṇa coins which have been dealt with elaborately in Chapter III. Though the pieces are very small in size, they clearly show where they have been broken from the moulds. The mould used for their manufacturing, is a multiple coin-mould intended for manufacturing a large number of pieces at a time. The pieces were joined with each other by thin channels in the mould through which molten metal passed to feed each coin socket. We have several other instances of a couple of coins or even four coin pieces joined together by small band of copper in between them or a knob left out at the point where two coins, cast in batches, were separated from each other and even the coin pieces would show where the molten metal was poured. The coins of Śrī-Nanda from Gaṇḍiberh, discussed in Chapter VI, also

1. The history of its discovery was obtained from Sri C. Batu, Photographer, of the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar, who also supplied a few specimens for study.

show that they were prepared by mould, by the same process as the present pieces. The spots which are seen in the illustration, resembling some symbols, on the coin flan are actually traces of molten metal, indicating that the coins were not trimmed after their manufacturing.

It is interesting to note that these copper coin like pieces do not contain any symbol on either sides. Other pieces of the hoard now missing are also said to have been blank on either of their sides.

References to copper *fanams* in the medieval inscriptions of South India are not rare, which were popularly known as *kasu* the smallest denomination of copper currency in this part of the country.[2] But the actual specimens identical with *kasu* are not like the present copper pieces. They are heavier in weight and manufactured in die-striking process. Elliot has referred to some copper coins which he considered as the oldest form of copper currency in South India. These are round ingots or spherules with some obscure marks on one side. He also states that smaller copper coins weighing $2\frac{8}{10}$ to 4 grains and $7\frac{8}{10}$ grains were not uncommon in South India, but he has not given the detailed description of them.

Copper coins of such small size as the present pieces are not known to have been current in Orissa in any period of its history. Their process of manufacturing would suggest that they were intended for making stamped coins. But these tiny pieces would not conform to any type of coins prevalent in early and medieval period in respect of their weight and size except the so-called Gaṅga-*fanams*. Again, the Gaṅga-*fanams* are in gold and die-struck pieces. It may be assumed from the above observations that it was an unsuccessful attempt by some dishonest people to counterfeit the gold Gaṅga-*fanams*, by applying thin gold coating on these copper pieces, with the objective of carrying on malpractice. The process of their manufacturing would also suggest that this is not an attempt by modern forgers. However, at the present state of our knowledge, it is risky to venture on any hypothesis, based on such insufficient data.

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2. Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*, pp. 58-60.

APPENDIX. II.

NUMERICAL FIGURES ON THE GANGA-FANAMS.

ENGLISH NUMERALS.	NUMERALS IN THE COINS.
2	[illegible], [illegible]
3	[illegible], [illegible]
4	[illegible]
5	[illegible]
7	[illegible], [illegible]
8	[illegible]
9	[illegible], [illegible], [illegible]
10	[illegible], [illegible]
11	[illegible]
12	[illegible]
13	[illegible]
14	[illegible]
15	[illegible]
17	[illegible]
18	[illegible]

ENGLISH NUMERALS	NUMERALS IN THE COINS .
19	[illegible]
21	[illegible]
22	[illegible]
23	[illegible]
24	[illegible]
25	[illegible]
27	[illegible]
28	[illegible]
29	[illegible]
31	[illegible]
32	[illegible]
33	[illegible]
34	[illegible]
35	[illegible]
* 41	[illegible]
* 43	[illegible]
* 55	[illegible]
* 58	[illegible]
* 59	[illegible]

* THE NUMERALS WITH STAR MARKS HAVE BEEN FOUND IN THE SMALLER DENOMINATIONS OF THESE GANGA-FANAMS . THE NUMERALS ARE VERY CRUDELY STRUCK ON THEM AND NOT EASILY RECOGNIZABLE DUE TO THEIR SMALLNESS IN SIZE.

APPENDIX THREE

A LIST OF COIN-NAMES FROM EPIGRAPHICAL RECORDS OF ORISSA

Sl. No.	Coin-Name	Dynasty	Provenance of the Record	Date of the Inscriptions	Reference
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	*Aripiṇḍaka* *Churṇikā*	of the time of Gopachandra	Jayarampur in Balasore district	C. 6th century A.D.	*OHRJ*, Vol. XI, No. 4, pp. 227ff.
2.	*Archcha* or *Āchchu-māḍa*	Imperial Gaṅga	Lakshmī-Narasiṁha temple at Siṁhāchalam (now in A.P.)	Śaka 1218 (1296 A.D.)	*SII*, Vol. VI, No. 868 ; *ARSIE*, 1899, No. 288 ; *IMP*, Vol. III, p. 1679, No. 116.
3.	*Avubhala* or *Aubala-māḍa*	-do-	-do-	Śaka 1313 (1391 A.D.)	*SII*, Vol. VI, No. 806 ; *IO*, Vol. V, Part III, p. 816.
4.	*Chāmara-māḍa*	-do-	-do-	Śaka 1060 (1138 A.D.)	*ARSIE*, 1898, 210A, 227A,
5.	*Chinnā* ; *Chanu-gaṇḍa-māḍa* ; Chinhuka ; Chi. (abbreviated for *Chinnā*).	-do-	Kūrmeśvara temple at Śrī Kūrmam ; Lakshmī-Narasiṁha temple at Siṁhāchalam	Śaka, 1134, (1212 A.D.) ; Śaka, 1164, (1242 A.D.) ;	*SII*, Vol. V, Nos. 1188, 1243, 1268 ; Vol. VI, Nos. 939, 1060, 1198. *ARSIE*, 1896, Nos. 307, 361 and 373E; *Ibid*, 1899, 302-B, 332, L and 365 XXXI ;
				Śaka, 1172, (1250 A.D.) ;	*IMP*, Vol. I, p. 688, No. 185 ;
				Śaka, 1291, (1370 A.D.) ;	*JASB*, 1903, No. 2, p. 120 ;
				Śaka, 1301, (1310 A.D.)	*IO*, Vol. V, Part I, pp. 45, 147, Part III, p. 724 etc.
				Śaka 1312, 1315 (1393 A.D.) etc,	

1	2	3	4	5	6
6.	*Churṇi*	Imperial Gaṅga	Alagum in Puri district	Śaka 1058 (1136 A.D.)	*EI*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 47-48.
7.	*Dināra*, *Gaṇḍa-dināra*	-do-	Lakshmī-Narasiṁha temple at Siṁhāchalam	Śaka 1278, (1136 A.D.); Śaka 1286 (1364 A.D.)	*SII*, Vol. VI, Nos. 775, 894; *ARSIE*, 1899, 273 P., 289 J; *IO*, Vol. V, Part II, p. 572.
8.	*Gadda* or *Gadya*, *Gadyāṇa*	-do-	Bhīmeśvara temple at Draksharam; Lakshmī-Narasiṁha temple at Siṁhāchalam	C. 1190-98 A.D.; Śaka 1164, (1242 A.D.)	*SII*, Vol. IV, No. 1329; *Ibid*, Vol. VI, No. 1198; *ARSIE*, 1893, 407; *Ibid*, 1899, 365-XXXI; *IMP*, Vol. II, p. 741, No. 313; *IO*, Vol. V, Part I, pp. 68, 126, etc.
9.	*Gaṇḍa-nishka*	-do-	Draksharam in East Godavari district; Lakshmī-Narasiṁha temple at Siṁhāchalam in A.P.	Śaka, 1155 (1238 A.D.); Śaka; 1192 (1271 A.D.).	*SII*, Vol. VI, Nos. 728, 952; *ARSIE*, 1899, 309.B, 256 and 365-XXXI; *IO*, Vol. V, Part I, pp. 103, 186; etc.
10.	*Gaṇḍa-māḍa* is used in the general sense of coined money and frequently found in the inscriptions of the Gaṅgas and other contemporary ruling families of Orissa, in connection with the donations made to temples.	-do-	Śrī Kūrmam, Siṁhāchalam and several places in Ganjam district.	Śaka 1071 (1149 A.D.); Śaka 1155 (1233 A.D.); Śaka 1158 (1235 A.D.)	*SII*, Vol. V, No. 1322; *Ibid*, Vol. VI, No. 952; *ARSIE*, 1896, 383; *Ibid*, 1899, 1309.B; *JASB*, Vol. LXXII, Part I, p. 112, No. 5; *IO*, Vol. III, Part I, p. 256; *Ibid*, Vol. V, Part I, II and III, etc.

1	2	3	4	5	6
11.	*Kulottuṅga-māḍa*	-do-	Bhīmeśvara temple at Draksharam	Śaka 1088 (1167 A.D.)	*SII*, Vol. IV, No. 1052 ; *ARSIE*, 1893, 217A ; *IO*, Vol. III, Part II, pp. 300-301.
12.	*Māshaka, Mā* (abbreviated for *Māsha*)	Early Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga-nagara and some minor ruling families of Orissa	Chicacole in Srikakulam district ; Phulasara in Ganjam district.	C. 7th century A.D. ; C. 12th century A.D.	*JAHRS*, Vol. III, pp. 30ff ; *Ibid*, Vol. VIII, pp. 189-90ff. ; *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 40-50ff ; *IO*, Vol. II, pp. 162ff.
13.	*Māḍa* *Mā* (abbreviated for *Māḍa*). Besides numerous inscriptions of the time of Choḍa-gaṅga and his successors mention *Māḍa* for coin in a general sense	Kadamva and Gaṅga epigraphs	Kambakaya in Srika-kulam district ; Nila-kanthesvara temple at Bobbili ; Lingaraja temple at Bhubanes-war ; temple at Khillor and Jagannath temple at Puri in Puri district ; Madhukesvara temple at Mukhalingam.	Śaka 1003 ; Śaka 1073 (1151 A.D.); Śaka 1100 (1178 A.D)	*IO*, Vol. II, p. 223 ; Vol. III, Parts I and II, Vol. V, Parts I, II and III ; *EI*, Vol. XXX, pp. 31ff. ; *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 1196 ; *Ibid*, Vol. X, Nos. 658, 703, etc.
14.	*Malla-māḍa* *Malla-Chinnā*	Imperial Gaṅga -do- of Śaka 1202 (1280 A.D.)	Lakshmi-Narasiṁha temple at Siṁhā-chalam ; Kurmeś-vara temple at Srikurmam -do-	Śaka, 1129 (1207 A.D.) ; Śaka 1139 (1217 A.D); Śaka 1142 (1220 A.D.); Śaka 1171 (1250 A.D.) ; Śaka 1178 (1257 A.D.); Śaka 1184 (1236 A.D.); Śaka 1195 (1273 A.D.)	*SII*, Vol. V, Nos. 1291, 1296, 1297 ; *Ibid*, Vol. VI, Nos. 845, 1167, 1188, 1204 ; *ARSIE*, 1896, 376, B, 376.H ; *Ibid*, 1899, 286, 355-XXI, 365-XXXVII. *SII*, Vol. VI, No. 936 ; *IO*, Vol. V, Part I, pp. 224-25

1	2	3	4	5	6
15.	*Matsya-gadya*	Imperial Gaṅga	-do-	Śaka 1141, (1219 A.D.),	*SII*, Vol. VI, No. 1201 ; *IO*, Vol. V, Part I, p. 71.
16.	*Nishka*	-do-	Kūrmeśvara temple at Srikurmam ; Lakshmī-Narasiṁha temple at Siṁhāchalam	Śaka, 1244 (1323 A.D,) ; Śaka, 1267 (1345 A.D.) ; Śaka, 1270, (1348 A.D.) ; Śaka, 1278 (1356 A.D.)	*SII*, Vol. V, No. 1190 ; *Ibid*, Vol. VI, Nos. 893, 979 ; *ARSIE*, 1896, 309 ; *Ibid*, 1899, 316-C ; 289-H ; *IMP*, Vol. I, p. 689, No. 187 ; *IO*, Vol. V, Part II, pp. 450, 439 etc.
17.	*Paṇa*	Māṭhara, Bhauma-kara	Visakhapatnam and Ganjam districts ; Hindol in Dhenkanal district	C. 6th century A.D. C, 9th century A.D.	*EI*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 33-36ff. ; *Ibid*, Vol. XXX, pp. 115ff ; *JBORS*, Vol. XVI, pp. 69-83 ; *Orissa under the Bhauma kings*, pp. 14-17 ; *IO*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 25 and 44ff.
18.	*Pahiṇḍi-gadda* or *Pahiṇḍi-gadya*	Imperial Gaṅga	Kurmeśvara temple at Śrīkūrmam	Śaka, 1199 (1277 A.D.)	*SII*, Vol. V, 1236 ; *ARSIE*, 1896, 354 ; *IO*, Vol. V, Part I, p. 207.
19.	*Pahiṇḍi-māḍa*	-do-	Sūryanārāyan temple at Arasavalli in Srikakulam district ; Kūrmeśvara temple at Śrīkūrmam ; Lakshmī-Narasiṁha temple at Siṁhāchalam.	Śaka, 1069 (1148 A.D.)	*ŚII*, Vol. V, Nos. 1236, 1344 ; *Ibid*, Vol. VI, No. 728 ; *ARSIE*, 1896, 354, 388 ; *Ibid*, 1899, 256 ; *JASB*, Vol. LXXII, Part I, p. 196, No. 37 ; *IO*, Vol. III, Part I, p. 243.

1	2	3	4	5	6
20.	*Poli or Proli-māḍa* (same as *Prola-māḍa*	Imperial Gaṅga	Kurmeśvara temple at Śrīkūrmam	Śaka 1172 (1250 A.D.)	*SII*, Vol. V, No. 1188 ; *ARSIE*, 1896, 307 ; *JASB*, (1903), No. 2, p. 120 ; *IO*, Vol. V, Part I, pp. 144-47 *EI*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 47-8ff.
21.	*Purāṇa*	-do-	Alagum in Puri district	Śaka, 1058, (1136 A.D.)	
22.	*Rūpya*, *Ru* (abbreviated for (*Rūpya*).	Gaṅgas of Śvetaka ; the Somavaṁśis ; the early Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga-nagara ; the Bhanjas and several other minor ruling families of early medieval period	-do-	C. 8th to 12th Century A.D.	*EI*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 371-72 ; *IO*, Vol. II, pp. 190ff. ; *Ibid*, Vol. IV, pp. 115 ; 198-201ff ; *Ibid*, Vol. VI, pp. 218, 252 etc.
23.	*Rua* ; *Ruaka*	Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga-nagara	Polasara in Ganjam district	C. 12th century A.D.	*JAHRS*, Vol. III, pp. 30ff.
24.	*Śobhana-rūpya*	Rāshṭrakūṭa	Bolangir district	C. 10th century. A.D.	To be published in the *JESI*.
25.	*Surabhi-gadya*	Imperial Gaṅga	Lakshmi-Narasiṁha temple at Siṁhāchalam	Śaka, 1125 (1203 A.D.)	*SII*, Vol. VI, No. 1178 ; *ARSIE*, 1899, 365-XI ; *IO*, Vol. V, Part I ; p. 14.
26.	*Surabhi-māḍa*	-do-	Kurmeśvara temple at Śrīkūrmam ; Haṭakeśvara temple at Siṅgavaram in A.P.	Śaka, 1127 (1205 A.D.) ; Śaka, 1096 (1174 A.D.)	*SII*, Vol. V, Nos. 1270, 1314 ; *Ibid*, Vol. X, No. 713 ; *ARSIE*, 1896, 378 and 373.G ; *Ibid*, 1926, 634 ; *IO*, Vol. V, pp. 16-17, etc.

1	2	3	4	5	6
27.	*Śaśukāṇi-ṭaṅkā*	Imperial Gaṅgas and the Sūrya-vaṁśī Gajapatis	Lakshmī-Narasiṁha temple at Siṁhā-chalam	Śaka, 1329 (1407 A.D.); Śaka, 1342, (1420 A.D.) and several inscriptions of the subsequent period.	*SII*, Vol, VI, Nos. 895, 946, 1070, 1164; *ARSIE*, 1899, 305.C, 332-LX, 289 K, 363-XIX, 296-Q. *IO*, Vol. V, Part III, pp. 912, 983. etc.
28.	*Ṭaṅka-māḍa*	Imperial Gaṅgas and the Sūryavaṁśī Gajapatis	Lakshmī-Narasiṁha temple at Siṁhā-chalam	Śaka, 1141 (1219 A.D.); Śaka, 1143 (1221 A.D.)	*SII*, Vol. VI. Nos. 1188, 1204; *ARSIE*, 1899, 365-XXXVII, 365-XVI; *IO*, Vol. V, Part I, p. 72 etc.
29.	*Tyāgī-māda*	-do-	-do-	Śaka 1120 (1198 A.D.); Śaka, 1123 (1201 A.D.).	*SII*, Vol. VI, Nos. 1166, 1177; *ARSIE*, 1899, 304, 365-X; *IMP*, Vol. III, p. 1686, No. 192; *IO*, Vol. V, Part I, p. 6; p. 12, etc.
30.	*Veṇḍi-ṭaṅkā*	Imperial Gaṅgas and the Sūrya-vaṁśī Gajapatis	Lakshmī-Narasiṁha temple at Siṁhā-chalam	Śaka, 1330 (1408 A.D.); Śaka, 1343 (1422 A.D.) Śaka, 1346 (1424 A.D.); Śaka, 1348, (1426 A.D.).	*SII*, Vol. VI, Nos. 710, 849, 946; 1013, 1083; *ARSIE*. 1899, 305-C, 332.III, 245-A, and 339-B; 250-D; *IMP*, Vol. III, p. 1684, No. 170; *IO*, Vol. V, Part III, p. 920, p. 944, p. 957, etc.

The list, though contains a good number of coin-names from the Orissan epigraphs, is by no means exhaustive, neither in respect of dates and their distribution areas. The vast number of epigraphic materials, especially, those of the Gaṅgas and the Sūryavaṁśīs need a thorough study for the compilation of numerous coin-names occurring in them. However, the list is compiled here with the expectation that it will provide a fair idea of the coin types prevalent in early and medieval Orissa and known by the names as enumerated above, during the period of our discussion. Attempts have already been made to identify some of these coin-names with known coin-types in Chapters X and XII, but the actual meaning of the majority of them remain yet to be satisfactorily explored.

APPENDIX FOUR

MISCELLANEOUS SOUTH INDIAN COINS

Various types of copper coins of different size and weight standards, attributable to the medieval and late medieval period are very often noticed in the possession of the residents of the Puri town, particularly with the servitors of the temple of Jagannāth. A study of some of these coins has revealed that they belong to the copper coinage of the Vijayanagar kings of 15th and 16th centuries. Some of them are also known to have belonged to the dynasty of Odeyars of Mysore. These coins are popularly known in Puri town as *Jagannāth-piṇḍikā*. The word *piṇḍikā* indicates that it is one kind of revenue income of the temple of the Lord Jagannāth in the form of coined money, jewellery, gold, silver and cloths like *śāris* etc. apart from land revenue and other incomes. This income is generally derived from the offerings of the above items made by the pilgrims and the devotees at the feet of the Lord Jagannāth and also other deities in the premises of the temple. This system of offering *piṇḍikā* to the deities seems to be a traditional one continued from a remote past and the finds of coins of different metals belonging to different regions of the country of different period also support this. The religious importance of the town which is a famous centre of pilgrimage from a very early period and which attracts thousands of pilgrims throughout the whole year even in the present times, is the main reason for availability of various types of coins brought by the pilgrims from other regions of the country to be offered to the deities as *piṇḍikā*.

A few coins of copper, known to have been offered as *piṇḍikā* are in the collection of the Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar. They are reported to have been collected from a resident of Puri town.[1] Among these coins, five seem to belong to Devarāya I (1406-22 A.D.) and Kṛishṇadevarāya (1509-29 A.D.), the rulers of the Vijayanagar empire. There are two coins of Devarāya in this collection (Plate LIV, Fig. 1, Nos. 7 and 8) each measuring 1.2 cm. and their respective weights are 2.527 gms and 2.720 gms. They show on the obverse a humped bull to the left within dotted circle with sun and moon above. On the reverse, is shown a *Nāgarī* legend in two lines, (1) *Śrī-Deva-* (2) *Rāya*. The two lines are separated by double horizontal lines. The coins are very crudely struck. The

1. They are recorded in the Museum as *Jagannāth-piṇḍikā*. There are altogether eight coins, all in copper. Information furnished by the local people of Puri town that the pilgrims from different provinces outside Orissa offer to the temple, various types of gold, silver and copper coins which are still available with the residents of the town.

other three coins belong to two varieties issued by Kṛishṇadevarāya. One represents (No. 4 of Plate LIV, Fig. 1) on the obverse, a couchant bull within a circle of dots, and the sun and the moon above and on the reverse the legend in Kannaḍa scripts very crudely inscribed. However from a comparative study of the other similar type coins of the issuer discovered in Andhra and other areas[2] it could be read as *Śrī-Kṛishṇa* in two lines. These coins are very small in size measuring 1 cm. in diameter. Another variety represents (No. 6 of the same plate) on the obverse a *Garuḍa* facing left within a dotted border wearing a tall *kirīṭa* and his hands are folded in front in an attitude of devotion and kneeling on his left knee and the right foot is on the ground in the *vīrāsana* pose. His wings are spread out behind the two arms. The reverse shows the legend in *Nāgarī* characters written in three lines with double horizontal lines and single vertical line separating each letter. The legend though not clear on this coin, can be read if fully restored as (1) *Śrī-Pra*, (2) *tāḷa-kṛishṇa*, (3) *rāya*. This coin measures 1.1 cm. and weighs 2.138 gms. The copper coins of Kṛishṇadevarāya of Vijayanagar have been found in various parts of South India in several denominations. The highest weight of them are known in 247 grains (16.005 gms.) and the lowest in 24 grains (1.555 gms.).[3] His coins under discussion (Nos. 4 and 5)[4] weigh respectively 2.0008 gms. and 2.073 gms. Thus the weights of all these coins though they nearly conform to an uniform size indicate that in the case of copper coins, no uniformity in the weight standard was maintained. The wide variation in their weight standard was due to their crude manufacturing process. This variation is also noticed between individual coins of the same type found in other parts of the Vijayanagar empire. It is to be noted that these coins were possibly manufactured in moulds. Some of these moulds have been discovered in the Kadkal Excavations in Raichur district[5], while some of the coins show evidence of milling of the edges.[6]

There are three copper coins of the Odeyar dynasty of the Mysore State all

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2. Cf. *A Catalogue of the Vijayanagar Coins*, p. 58 ; A. V. N. Murthy, *Coins of Karnataka*, pp. 164-65.
3. *A Catalogue of the Vijayanagar Coins*, pp. 117ff ; *Coins of Karnataka*, p. 164.
4. The coin No. 5 is so much corroded that it may not be definitely attributed to be his issue. But on minute observation and the similarity in weight and size, it may tentatively be taken as the issue of Krishnadevaraya.
5. *A Catalogue of the Vijayanagar Coins*, Plate VI.
6. A. V. N. Murthy, *Op.Cit.*, p. 145.

The coinage of the Vijayanagar Empire has been variously dealt with by scholars, Cf. Panchamukhi, *Vijayanagar Sexcentenary Volume*, p. 107 ; M. H. Krishna, *MAR*, 1930-33, Mahalingam, *Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagar*, p. 101 ; Hultzsch, *IA*, Vol. II, Desikachari, *IA*, Vol. XXIII, p. 25 and others.

belonging to the coinage of Kṛishṇarāja Odeyar III (1799-1868 A.D.) (Plate LIV, Fig. 1, Nos. 1, 2 and 3). They may be described in the following manner :

Coin No. 1 : It measures 2 cm. in diameter. Its obverse shows a caparisoned elephant and above the animal the Kanarese legend *Śrī-Chāmuṇḍi* with sun and moon on either side. The reverse shows four lines legend, first three lines written in Kanarese letters reading (1) Krishna, (2) *Mayli-kā* (3) *śuyipattu* (*Meilee kāśu* 20 of Kṛishṇa). The fourth line is in English with Roman numerical symbols reading *XX CASH*.

Coin No. 2 : This is slightly bigger in size measuring 2.1 cm. in diameter and bears the same devices and legend on both obverse and reverse of it. The denomination of this coin is also mentioned as 20 *Mayli-kāśu* of Kṛishṇa. But due to the crude manufacturing process, slight variations are noticed in the depiction of the figure of the elephant and also the Kanarese letters.

Coin No. 3 : This coin measures 2.2 cm. in diameter. It belongs to a different denomination of the same issuer Kṛishṇarāja III. Its obverse shows within the dotted border a standing lion to left with the Kanarese legend *Śrī-Chāmuṇḍī* above the animal and the sun and moon on either side of *Śrī* above. Persian legend is seen below the lion, on some varieties of the same denomination of this coin, on the reverse[7] reading *Zarb-i-Mahisur*. But due to blurred condition and crude manufacturing process no such legend is legible now on the present coin. The reverse shows within the dotted border the inscription in a circular way reading first in Kanarese letters, *Mayili-Kāśu 25* and then the Roman numerical symbol for the same number as *XXV* and *CASH* in English. Within the inner circle the name of the issuer as *Kṛishṇa*. No date is found on these coins.

Gold, silver as well as copper coins of various denominations issued by Kṛishṇarāja Odeyar III of the former Mysore State of Southern Karnataka are already known to numismatists.[8] According to A. V. N. Murthy, the coins of the Odeyar dynasty of Mysore are "links between the past and the present".[9] Their gold coins also exhibit influence of the Vijayanagar coinage. The copper coins of Kṛishṇarāja Odeyar which are known in various denominations contain an interesting word indicating the name of the coin as *Mayili-Kāśu* occurring for the first time on his issues. Although there was controversy among scholars on the meaning of the word *Mayili*, some taking it to be a contraction for Mysore and *li* for the locative suffix, it has now been explained satisfactorily. It is, in fact, an abbreviated form of the legend in English, the full form of which is *Minted by East India Lord-*

7. Cf. A. V. N. Murthy, *Coins of Karnataka*, pp. 241-243.
8. *Ibid*, pp. 237-245ff.
9. *Ibid*, p. 235,

ship in Existing Establishment.[10] Its significance in the fact that after the restoration of the Mysore kingdom from Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan by the British East India Company, it was handed over to Kṛishṇarāja III of the Odeyar dynasty in 1831, who was then a minor boy. In 1831 the British Commission was appointed to be the guardian of the minor king and to act as regent. The words for the abbreviated form indicated that the British Government, during the suspension of the rule of the king minted coins (in existing establishment) on behalf of the king. Thus the actual abbreviated word is *MEILEE* and not *MAIYILI* as written in Kannaḍa. Some of the silver coins of small denominations are also known to have been minted by the British regency in the name of Kṛishṇarāja III.[11] The word *kāśu* is a South Indian cointerm derived from Sankrit *kārshāpaṇa*. From this word *kāśu* again the English word *cash* has been derived. The copper coins minted by British regency in the name of Kṛishṇarāja III are known in various denominations termed as *Meilee cash* 40, 25, 20, 10, 6½ and 5. It is interesting to note that these copper coins travelled all along to Orissa being carried by pilgrims, probably during the period of their circulation.

10. *Coins of Karnataka*, p. 240.
11. *Ibid*, p. 239.

APPENDIX FIVE

COINS OF UNCERTAIN ATTRIBUTION

Much has been written about a group of copper coins with the *Nāgarī* legend *Kākati-Pratāparudra* on the obverse and *Vijaya-Kaṭaka* on the reverse but the controversy still prevails among scholars regarding their attribution to the Kākatīyas of Warangal or to the Sūryavaṁśī Gajapati king Pratāparudra of Orissa. The legend occurring on them has been variously read by numismatists and ascribed according to their reading and interpretation either to the Gajapati Pratāparudradeva of Orissa or to Kākatīya Pratāparudradeva of Warangal.

These copper coins which are circular and measure about .8" in diameter, are stated to have been frequently found in Warangal and its vicinity. They do not bear any religious symbol on their obverse as on the coins of Hindu kings generally found, but the legend on both the sides having the name and epithet of the issuer and the name of the place of issue presumably struck on the model of the Muslim coins of the medieval period. They seem to be manufactured by mould like the coins of the Vijayanagar empire. The legends on the obverse and reverse of these conins invariably are read, though in a fragmentary manner as in the following lines :

Obverse : (1) *Śrīma(d)V(e) ṁka-*
(2) *Ṭa-Kākatī(ya)*
(3) *Pratāparu-*
Reverse: (4) *dradeva-Vi-*
(5) *jaya-Kaṭaka (Aṅka ?) 12*

Welter Elliot was first to ascribe a type of copper coin with a couchant bull symbol on the obverse and a fragmentary *Nāgarī* legend reading *Śrīmat···Ka··· Kākati...Pratāpa ra···ya...Kaṭaka···Śaka 2···*to the Kākatīya family of Warangal.[1] But some of the coins of the above description, having no religious symbol but with the same legend were attributed by Dinkar Rao to the last Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kakka II (A.D. 927-973)[2] on the basis of their provenance, which were discovered near Malkhed, the original home of the Rāshṭrakūṭas I. Mahadevan read legend on some of the coins somewhat correctly as *Śrīmad-Vikrama Kākatīya Pratāparudradeva Vijaya Vatsara 123*.[3] D. C. Sircar gave a correct reading of the legend as in the next page.

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1. *Coins of Southern India*, p. 85.
2. *JNSI*, Vol. XXI, Part I, pp. 37-38.
3. D. C. Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins*, p. 240.

Obverse	Reverse
1. *Śrīmad-Veṅka-*	1. *dra-deva-vi-*
2. *ṭa-Kākatiya-*	2. *jaya-Kaṭaka*
3. *Pratāparu-*	3. *Śa 1108 Ka*[4]

But his reading as regards the date in the last line seems to be wrong, as it will be known from the following pages. The legend together with the last line having the date of issue of these coins have been variously read by numismatists. Besides Sircar, the word *Śaka* before the numerals has also been read by J. Ramayya.[5] But N. Ahmad[6], Amjad Ali[7] and N. Venkataramanayya[8] reject the reading of *Śaka* and read the word as *Aṅka*. The epithet *Śrīmad-Veṅkaṭa* occurring in the first line of the coins has been read by some of these scholars as *Śrī-Madhukara* and according to them this must have referred to God Madhukeśvara of Mukhaliṅgam identified now with the ancient Kaliṅganagara. This epithet together with the words like *Vijaya-Kaṭaka* and *Aṅka* occurring on these coins have been a subject of controversy among the scholars on the basis of which they have conclusively assigned them to be the issues of Gajapati Pratāparudradeva of the Sūryavaṁśa of Orissa. They opine that he issued these coins from his capital Cuttack (*Vijaya-Kaṭaka*) and the word *Aṅka* was used only by the Imperial Gaṅgas and the Sūrya-vaṁśī Gajapatis of Orissa, while reckoning their regnal years. Their view is supported by an alleged copper plate inscription of Gajapati Pratāparudradeva found in Nellore district[9] wherein the epithets of *Veṅkata* and *Kākata* or *Kākatīya* for Gajapati Pratāparudra have been used as in the present coins in question. N. Venkataramanayya suggested on the evidence of the above inscription that these coins were issued by Gajapati Pratāparudradeva in the Andhra country during his reign "who ruled over the entire east coast from the river Ganges to Udayagiri in the Nellore district of Andhra Pradesh from A.D. 1496 to 1542.[10] *Vijaya-kaṭaka*, according to him, undoubtedly refers to his capital Cuttack. This view has also been accepted by P. V. P. Sastry.[11] Abdul Hameed Siddiqui read the legend on a same type of coin from his own collection as *Śrīmad-Ga(ja)pati Kākatīya Veṁkaṭa Pratāpa(ru)dra deva Vijaya Kaṭaka 12 Aṅka*[12], the same legend also occurs on one

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4. *Ibid*, p. 241.
5. *JNSI*, Vol. XXI, pp. 18ff. & Plate XI, Nos. 5, 5-A & 5-B.
6. *Ibid*, Vol. XXIX, Part I, p. 49.
7. *Ibid*, Part II, pp. 85-88.
8. *Ibid*, Vol. XXX, p. 213.
9. A. Butterworth and Chetty (Ed.), *Nellore District Inscriptions*, Part I, pp. 184-185.
10. *JNSI*, Vol. XXX, p. 214.
11. *Kākatīya Coins & Measures*, pp. 1ff.
12. *Num. Dig.*, Vol. II, Part I, p. 27.

of the coins published by Amjad Ali.[13] On the strength of this legend and the copper plate grants from Nellore district cited above he argues that these coins can conclusively be attributed to Gajapati Pratāparudradeva of Orissa and the Gajapati ruler might have assumed the title *Kākata* or *Kākatīya* to "show that he was as glorious as the Kākatīya ruler of the same name who ruled Warangal a little earlier.[14] He also presumably suggests on the provenance of these coins that Kākatīya Pratāparudra might have issued earlier, such type of coins which Gajapati Pratāparudra simply copied for his own issue.

Although much has been written on these coins and various suggestions have been made by numismatists, particularly the reading of *Vijaya-Kaṭaka*, indicating the place of their issue, their provenance, i.e., the areas around Warangal where they have been frequently found should clearly indicate that they were not issued by the Gajapati King of Orissa. It should be noted in this context that not a single coin of this type, has so far been discovered in Orissa proper, particularly in and around Cuttack, the capital city of the Sūryavaṁśīs. Their conspicuous absence in his capital and the heart of his empire would evidently show that these coins were not the issues of Gajapati Pratāparudra. The word *Vijaya-kaṭaka* here does not necessarily indicate the capital Cuttack, but may also mean a victorious camp or the capital city of the issuer. Instances are not rare in early and medieval inscriptions of various royal dynasties speaking of *Vijaya-kaṭaka* referring to a victorious camp and also to the capital city of the king or emperor. If the word *Kaṭaka* occurring on these coins referred to the name of the city of Cuttack as suggested by scholars, we would have atleast come across a few coins of this type from this place which are taken to have been issued from Cuttack. P. L. Gupta, though in his editorial note remarked that the copper coins generally found within certain area may belong to that area and issued by the ruler of that place, also overlooked this point and conjecturally took the term *Kaṭaka* to be the name of a place, i.e., Cuttack and as the place of issue of the coins.[15]

The reading of the epithet in the first line variously made by scholars as *Śrī-Madhukara*, *Śrī-Vikrama Vīrādhīvīra* etc. seem to be conjectural when minutely examined from the illustrations published by them. It has been correctly read by D. C. Sircar and others[16] as *Śrīmad-Veṅkaṭa* which is very clear in the illustrations.[17] The absence of the medial *e* and the *m* in the word *Veṁkaṭa*, due to the

13. *JNSI*, Vol. XXXII, Part II, p. 191.
14. *Op.Cit.*, p. 29.
15. *Num. Dig.*, Vol. II, Part I, p. 33.
16. *Studies in Indian Coins*, pp. 241-42 ; P. Parabrahma Sastry, *Kākatīya coins and measures*, pp. 1ff.
17. Cf. *JNSI*, Vol. XXI, Part II, Plate XI, Nos. 5, 5A & 5B ; *Num. Dig.*, Vol. III, Part II, p. 61 & Plate ; *JNSI*, Vol, XXVIII, Part I, Plate III, Nos. 5 & 6.

truncated nature of some of the coins has confused the scholars. Some of the illustrations show the legend written in the following manner :

Obverse	Reverse
1. *Śrima(d)V(e)(ṁka)-*	1. *dradeva-vi-*
2. *ṭa-kākatī(ya)*	2. *jaya Kaṭaka 12...*
3. *Pratāparu-*	

On some of them the medial *e* at the left side of the letter *V* is clearly shown although it has been overlooked by the scholars. The absence of *e* in some of the coins and *Anusvāra* in the word *Veṁkaṭa* are due to the want of space above the first line for which it is shown as *Vakata.* The letter *ṭa* in this word clearly written in the second line on the obverse has been read by scholars as *ra* and thus the word *Śrī-Madhukara* (the first letter *Ma* taken from previous word *Śrīma* (*d*) for *Śrīmad-Veṁkaṭa.* The last word on the reverse read by some as *Aṅka* and *Śaka* by others. But the photographs of some of the coins clearly show the word as *Aṅka.*[18] The numerals read by Mahadevan as 123 is in fact 12 and the numeral 3 read by him is actually the left portion of the letter *a.* Sircar has wrongly read the numerals together with the word *Aṅka* after them as *Śa* 1108 *ka* and 1209 *Śaka.*[19] But he reads 08 or 09 which is actually the letter *ṁka* and this can be clearly observed from the various illustrations. It is interesting to note that all the coins having numerals so far published by numismatists denote only 12 *Aṅka* or 2, the numeral one before it being truncated or blurred, indicating that the issuer struck these coins in his 12th regnal year from a "victorious camp", may be his capital city, though the name of the city is not mentioned. This also indicates that the coins were issued by one and the same person.

It is known from the history of the Gajapati kings of Orissa that they never assumed the titles of *Kākatīya* and *Veṁkaṭa* neither they seem to have issued any coinage of their own. The epigraphical records of their period do not reveal anything relating to this point. Scholars have referred to the inscription of Gajapati Pratāparudra found in Nellore district. But as Sircar has rightly pointed out that it is a forged inscription on the evidence of which the scholars have confused between Gajapati and Kākatīya Pratāparudradeva. There is a reference in the *Bhakti-bhāgavata* of Kavidiṇḍima Jīvadevāchārya that Gajapati Pratāparudra issued gold coins bearing the figure of Gopāla (Kṛishṇa) with the king's name which were in circulation in many lands.[20] It seems from this reference that Pratāparudra might have imitated the gold coins issued by Kṛishṇadevarāya of the

18. Cf. P. Parabrahma Sastry, *Op.Cit.*, p. 1 and Plate I.
19. *Studies in Indian Coins*, pp. 241-42.
20. *Navabhārata* (Oriya), Vol. VI, No. 6, p. 295 ; Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins*, p. 247, See also Chapter.

Vijayanagar kingdom[21] having the figure of Kṛishṇa on the obverse. But no coin with such symbol and the name of Pratāparudra has so far been noticed. It seems to be an exaggeration made by Jīvadevāchārya in order to eulogise Pratāparudradeva in whose reign the book is known to have been written and he took Kṛishṇadevarāya's coins with the figure of Kṛishṇa to be the issues of the Sūryavaṁśī king. The *Sarasvati-vilāsam* which is believed by the historians to be the work of the Gajapati ruler himself[22] or his court-poet Lakshmīdhara in the name of the king, also does not mention the epithets of *Veṁkaṭa* ahd *Kākatīya* for Pratāparudradeva. Here in this work the titles assumed by him have been described as *Gajapati-Gauḍesvara Navakoṭi-Karṇāṭa-Kalavargeśvara* and *Yamunāpurā dhiśvara-Hussain sāhi-Suratrāṇa-śaraṇa-rakshaka*.

On the other hand the Kākatīyas of Warangal have invariably used both these titles as revealed by their epigraphical records. The family-name Kākatīya, variously spelt in their records as *Kākatī*, *Kāketa*, *Kākatya*, *Kākatīyya*, *Kākita* etc., has been used before the name of each ruler, such as, *Kākatīya*-Ganapati, *Kākatīya*-Pratāparudra etc. These kings also used the expressions like *Kākatīya-Puravarādhīśvara*, *Kākatīya-manuma*, *Kākatīya-Kumāra* etc. before their royal names. It is also known from epigraphical records as well as a type of gold coins that they had several other epithets like *Rāya-Gaja-Keśari* and *Dāya-Gaja-Keśari*,[23] indicating also that the Kākatīyas had their own coinage. The title of Gajapati, likewise, might have been one of the epithets assumed by Kākatīya-Pratāparudra. Another coin of similar type with the legend reading *Gajapati* and the name of the issuer as *Rāya Nāga Nāyaka*[24], has been suggested by A. H. Siddiqui to be the issue of one of the vassal kings of Gajapati Pratāparudradeva of Orissa, who was a local ruler of Teleṅgāṇa region. This seems to be based on mere conjecture as in the absence of any coinage issued by the over lord, it cannot be expected to have coins issued by his vassals in their names. The title of *Rāya* seems to have some influence of the same title assumed by the rulers of Vijayanagar kingdom. It is well known that these rulers had their own gold as well as copper coinage. It thus seems reasonable to think that a vassal king under the Vijayanagar rulers assuming the title of *Rāya*, ruling in the Teleṅgāṇa region which was previously occupied by the Kākatīyas, was empowered to issue coins in his dominion and who copied the model of these copper coins for his own following the local numismatic tradition. In this context we may refer to another unique copper coin attributed to the king of Vijayanagar, Harihara II. This circular

21. Cf. N. Ramesan (Ed.), *A Catalogue of the Vijayanagar Coins of the Andhra Pradesh Govt. Museum*, pp. 90ff. and Plates XI to XII.
22. R. Subrahmanyam, *The Sūryavaṁśī Gajapatis of Orissa*, pp. 177-78.
23. P. Parabrahmasastry, *Op.Cit.*, pp. 9ff.
24. *Num. Dig.*, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 27, 30 ; *JNSI*, Vol. XXXII, Part II, p. 191.

copper coin measuring 1.2 cm in diameter and weighing 1.250 gms. has legend inscribed on both the sides. According to A. H. Siddiqui, both the sides have legends in three lines reading *Pratāpa-Kākatīya-Harihara-rāya* in the *Nāgarī* scripts of about 16th century A.D.[25] The name, according to him, suggests his attribution to be a king of the Vijayanagar dynasty. But Harihara II of this dynasty who is known to have ruled from 1377-1404 A.D. had the usual type coins of the family having figure of religious importance on one side and the legend on the other. But the present coin differs from the common types. Moreover, the family name Kākatīya before the name of the issuer does not suggest the attribution of the coin to the Vijayanagar dynasty. It seems probable that Kākatīya Harihara was also a local ruler of Teleṅgāṇa region, probably ruling under the suzerainty of the Vijayanagar kings. This region ruled by the Kākatīyas was occupied by the Reḍḍi family after their downfall and after the Reḍḍis it was occupied by the Gajapatis of Orissa.

COINS OF RĀMACHANDRA OF UNCERTAIN ATTRIBUTION

Another interesting copper coin attributed to Rāmachandra of Orissa by A. H. Siddiqui has recently come to the notice of the scholars.[26] The coin, in the Illustration given with Siddiqui's paper, shows on the obverse a couchant bull facing right with sun and crescent over the back of the animal, and on the reverse, the Telugu-Kanarese legend in two lines reading (1) *Rāma,* (2) *Chandra.* The provenance of the coin is not mentioned by him and according to him, palaeographically it may be assigned to 16th century A.D. He also tentatively suggests its provenance to be a Telugu region.

The learned scholar has tried to attribute this coin to one of the three Rāmachandras who were ruling during 16th century in different parts of Orissa. Rāmachandra, son of Gajapati Pratāparudradeva of the Sūryavaṁśa was the ruler of the coastal Andhra region during about 1540 A.D. Another ruler named Rāmachandra was the ruler of Khurda in 1592; who assumed the title of Gajapati. Rāmachandra was also the name of a son of Teleṅgā Mukundadeva who was in charge of the fort of Al in 1589-90 A.D. According to Siddiqui among all the three Rāmachandra of Khurda was in a position to issue coin and could well be attributed with the present coin in question.

But from the previous discussions while it is known that the imperial power like the Sūryavaṁśi Gajapatis of Orissa did not have their own coinage, the present coin cannot be attributed to Rāmachandra, son of Pratāparudra. As we know from

25. *JNSI*, Vol. XL, pp. 132-33ff. and Plate I, No. 7. The provenance of the coin is not mentioned by Siddiqui.
26. *Num. Dig.*, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 36ff,

the political history during the reign of the above rulers, as shown by Siddiqui, Orissa was under turmoil. All the imperial Hindu powers had become extinct and the forces of disruption had then set in. Muslim invasions from all sides had weakened the central government. The Muslims and the Mahrattas has practically established their hagemony over the whole of Orissa. It seems Rāmachandra of Khurdā was not a powerful ruler to issue coins in his name when it is well known that his predecessors, the imperial power like the Sūryavaṁśīs had no coins of their own. It should be noted here that not a single coin of the present type has so far been discovered in Orissa where this Rāmachandra ruled. Moreover, the silver and copper coins of the Muslim and Mughal rulers as well as those of the Mahrattas were already in circulation in Orissa as known from some of the epigraphical records of the imperial Gaṅgas and the Sūryavaṁśī Gajapatis[27] as well as the abundant actual finds of their coins.

The scholar has perhaps overlooked the fact that there were several rulers named Rāmachandrarāya, Rāmarāya etc.; who belonged to the different dynasties of the Vijayanagar empire which lasted for three centuries. There was one Rāmachandrarāya (A.D. 1422), son of Devarāya I (1406-22 A.D.) of the Saṅgama dynasty of Vijayanagar. He appears to be short-lived. But his copper plate inscriptions both in Telugu and Nāgarī characters have been found and he has been mentioned as as the ruler of Udayagiri.[28] It seems in all probability, that this Rāmachandrarāya was the issuer of the present coin in question. The rarity of these coins may be due to his short reign, probably for one or two years.

In the Aravidu dynasty of Vijayanagar we find another person named Rāmarāya who is said to have been the son-in-law of the famous Kṛishṇadevarāya (A.D. 1509-29) of the Vijayanagar empire.[29] He is known to have been an astute politician and practically ruled the country on behalf of the nominal ruler Sadāśivarāya (A.D. 1542-76) whose gold coins are known to have been found. It seems also probable that this Rāmarāya might have issued some copper coins of the present type along with the gold issues of Sadāśivarāya. But in this case, the legend would have been Rāmarāya and not Rāmachandra. There is one coin of Rāmachandra, son of Devarāya I stated above, in the British Museum[30] which seems to be of a different type having the figure of an elephant to the left with lifted tail on the obverse and a *Nāgarī* legend of four letters with a vertical straight line in the centre on the reverse side. The legend reads *Rāmachandra*. But it is not unlikely

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27. See Chapters X and XII.
28. Butterworth & Chetty (Ed.), *Nellore District Inscriptions*, Part I, pp. 4ff.
29. *Catalogue of the Vijayanagar Coins*, pp. 18-19.
30. *Ibid*, p. 51.

that he did not issue any coin with bull symbol and Kanarese legend. This type of coins are not rare in the coinage of the Vijayanagar empire. Devarāya I, father of Rāmachandra himself issued copper coins with the figure of bull to right or to left on the obverse and the *Kannaḍa* legend on the reverse.[31] Thus the present coins does not seem to be the first of its kind and may be attributed to the coinage of the Vijayanagar empire issued by Rāmachandra of the Saṅgama dynasty.

31. *Catalogue of the Vijayanagar Coins*, pp. 50-51.

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PLATE NO.I.

LOCAL PUNCH-MARKED COINS

1 Sl No.	2 Hoard No.	3 Metal Shape Size Weight	4 Classification.	5 Obverse Symbols.	6 Reverse Symbols.	7 Provenance
1.	H.1/121	AR. Rec. 1.2x 2.2cm. 1.163 gm.			Blank.	Sonepur, Sisupalgarh.

IMPERIAL PUNCH-MARKED COINS

1 Sl No.	2 Hoard No.	3 Metal Shape Size Weight	4 Classification.	5 Obverse Symbols.	6 Reverse Symbols.	7 Provenance
2.	H.7/100	AR. S. 1.7x 1.9cm. 2.773 gm.	IAi		including various indistinct minute symbols.	Salipur,
3.	H.4/44	AR. Rec. 1.3x 2.2cm. 3.059 gm.	IAii	extra	Various other indistinct symbols.	Mayurbhanj, Salipur.
4.	H.10/74	AR. S. 1.6x 1.8cm. 2.915 gm.	IB		including various other indistinct symbols.	Samantaraipur.
5.	H.7/115	AR. C. 2.cm. 3.076 gm.	2Ai		including another minute symbol.	Salipur, Asurgarh, Chhatrapur, Samantaraipur.
6.	H.7/99	AR. C. 1.8cm. 3.059 gm.	2Aii		including another indistinct symbol.	Salipur, Chhatrapur.

PLATE NO.II.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7.	H.4/54	AR. C. 2x1.7 cm. 3.256 gm.	3Ai			Mayurbhanj Asurgarh.
8.	H.7/156	AR. Rec. 2.3x 1.5cm. 2.909 gm.	3Aii			Salipur.
9.	H.8/31	AR. C. 1.9cm. 2.427 gm.	3Aiii		Two other indistinct symbols	Asurgarh.
10.	H.7/97	AR. S. 2x2 cm. 2.831 gm.	4Ai	Extra		Salipur.
11.	H.8/41	AR. Rec. 1.9x 1.4cm. 2.660 gm.	5Ai		Two other indistinct symbols.	Asurgarh
12.	H.8/36	AR. C. 1.8cm. 2.283 gm.	6Ai		including various indistinct symbols.	Asurgarh.

PLATE NO.III.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13	H.10 / 73	AR S 1.6x 1.9cm 2.938 gm.	7Ai		including various indistinct symbols.	Samantarai-pur.
14	H.7 / 95	AR. C. 2.7 cm. 3.052 gm.	8Ai		three other indistinct punches.	Salepur.
15.	H.7 / 149	AR. S. 1.7x 1.8cm 3.005 gm	9Ai		including another indistinct symbol.	Salipur.
16.	H.9 / 177	AR. Rec. 1.3 x 1.7cm 2.760 gm.	9Aii		Two indis-tinct minute symbols.	Chhatrapur.
17.	H.10 / 72	AR. C. 2cm 3.038 gm.	10A.	?	two other indistinct symbols.	Samantarai-pur.
18.	H.9 / 10	AR. Rec. 1.5x 1.9cm 3.173 gm.	11Ai.	extra	including another indistinct symbol.	Chhatrapur.

PLATE NO.IV.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19.	H.7 / 152	AR. Rec. 1.5x 1.9cm 2.182 gm	12Ai		including various indistinct minute symbols.	Salipur.
20.	H.7 / 145	AR. Rec. 1.4x 1.9cm 2.696 gm.	13Ai			Salipur.
21.	H.9 / 16	AR. S. 1.5x 1.8cm 3.268 gm.	14Ai.			Chhatrapur.
22.	H.8 / 282	AR. Rec. 1.3x 1.7cm 3.185 gm	14Aii		Two indistinct minute symbols.	Asurgarh. Samantarai-pur.
23.	H.7 / 154	AR. C. 2cm. 3.116 gm	15Ai		three other indistinct symbols.	Salipur.
24.	H.4 / 40	AR. C. 1.3cm 3.145 gm	16Ai		including another indistinct symbol.	Mayurbhanj.

PLATE NO.V.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
25	H.4 / 19	AR. S. 1.6x 1.7cm 3.175 gm	17Ai		including various minute indistinct punches.	Mayurbhanj.
26.	H.10 / 112	AR. C. 1.7 cm. 2.905 gm.	18Ai		two other indistinct symbols.	Samantarai-pur.
27.	H.7 / 4	AR. C. 1.9cm 2.296 gm	19Ai	extra	including various indistinct punches.	Salipur, Asurgarh, Sámantarai-pur.
28.	H.7 / 158	AR. Rec. 2.2x 1.6cm 2.886 gm	19Bi	extra	three other indistinct symbols.	Salipur, Asurgarh.
29.	H.7 / 1	AR. C. 2cm. 2.799 gm	19Ci		including various indistinct symbols.	Salipur.
30.	H.7 / 3	AR. C. 2.1cm. 3.207 gm.	19Cii		various other minute indis-tinct symbols.	Salipur, Samantarai-pur, Asurgarh, Mayurbhanj.

PLATE NO.VI.

1	2	3	4	5.	6	7
31.	H.8/242	AR. S. 1.5x 1.6cm 2.975. gms	19Di		two other indistinct symbols.	Asurgarh.
32.	H.9/17	AR. S. 1.7x 1.8cm 2.965 gms.	19Ei		various other minute symbols not distinct.	Chhatrapur.
33.	H.7/155	AR. S. 2x1.6 cm. 3.140 gms.	20Ai			Salipur.
34.	H.10/35	AR. Rec. 1.2x 1.9cm 3.202 gm.	21Ai		Various indistinct minute symbols.	Samantarai-pur, Chhatrapur.
35.	H.6/4	AR. Rec, 1.3x 1.9. cm. 3.208 gm	21Aii		Three indistinct minute symbols.	Jagamara, Jharpada, Salipur, Chhatrapur.
36.	H.10/36.	AR C 2.1x 1.6cm 3.143 gm	21Aiii			Samantarai-pur, Mayurbhanj.

PLATE NO.VII.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
37.	H.4 / 49	AR. S. 1.4x 1.5cm. 3.320 gms.	21Bi		one indistinct minute symbol.	Mayurbhanj
38	H.8 / 279	AR. S. 1.7x 1.4cm 3.07 gms.	21Bii			Asurgarh, Samantaraipur, Mayurbhanj.
39	H.7 / 108	AR. S. 1.5x 1.7cm 2.868 gms.	21Biii		Two indistinct symbols	Salipur. Chhatrapur, Asurgarh.
40	H.4 / 50	AR. S. 1.4x 1.5cm 3.309 gms.	21Biv		including another indistinct symbol.	Mayurbhanj Salipur.
41	H.7 / 57	AR. S. 1.6x 1.5cm 3.205 gms.	21Ci			Salipur.
42	H.10 / 59	AR. Rec. 1.4x 2.3cm 3.106 gms.	22Ai		including various indistinct symbols.	Samantaraipur. Salipur, Chhatrapur, Asurgarh, Mayurbhanj.

PLATE NO.VIII.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
43	H.7/96	AR. S. 2x1.7 cm. 2.925 gms.	22Aii	Extra minute symbol.	A double struck coin but the symbols are not distinct.	Salipur.
44	H.7/143	AR. S. 2.1x 1.9cm 2.816 gms.	22Aiii		including various other indistinct symbols.	Salipur.
45.	H.7/144	AR. S. 1.4x 1.7cm 3.033 gms.	23Ai		Three indistinct minute symbols.	Salipur, Chhatrapur.
46.	H.7/146	AR. C. 2cm 3.177 gms.	23Aii		Two other indistinct symbols	Salipur Chhatrapur, Samantaraipur.
47	H.7/84	AR. S. 1.5x 2cm. 2.838 gms.	23Aiii		including two other indistinct symbols.	Salipur.
48.	H.4/63	AR. C. 1.8cm 3.141 gms.	23Aiv		including various indistinct symbols.	Mayurbhanj.

PLATE NO.IX.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
49.	H.7/86	AR. S. 1.6x 1.6cm 2.936 gms	23Bi		including two other indistinct symbols.	Salipur.
50.	H.8/239	AR. Rec. 1.3x 1.8cm 3.021 gms.	23Ci.		including other indistinct minute symbols.	Asurgarh, Samantaraipur.
51.	H.7/130	AR. S. 1.5x 1.7cm 3.255 gms	23Cii			Salipur, Samantaraipur.
52.	H.10/90	AR. S. 1.8x 1.8cm 2.927 gms.	23Ciii			Samantaraipur, Salipur, Jagamara, Mayurbhanj.
53.	H.10/75	AR. S. 1.5x 1.9cm. 3.114 gms.	23Di		including various other indistinct symbols.	Samantaraipur, Salipur, Asurgarh.
54.	H.10/76	AR. S. 1.7x 1.9cm 3.085 gms.	23Dii			Samantaraipur, Salipur, Jharpada, Chhatrapur, Asurgarh, Mayurbhanj.

PLATE NO.X.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
55	H.10 / 83	AR. C. 1.7cm 3.031 gms	23Diii		including various indistinct minute symbols.	Samantarai-pur, Salipur.
56	H.7 / 94	AR. S. 1.5x 1.8cm 3.312 gms.	23Div		including two other indistinct minute symbols.	Salipur.
57.	H.8 / 224	AR. C. 1.7cm 2.805 gms.	23Dv		including two indistinct symbols.	Asurgarh, Chhatrapur, Samantarai-pur, Mayurbhanj.
58.	H.10 / 80	AR. S. 1.8x 1.9cm 3.055 gms.	23Dvi		including various other minute indistinct symbols.	Samantarai-pur, Salipur, Mayurbhanj, Chhatrapur, Asurgarh.
59.	H.8 / 241	AR. Rec. 2x1.3 cm. 3.090 gms.	23Dvii		including another minute indistinct symbols.	Asurgarh, Jagamara, Salipur.
60.	H.10 / 92	AR. C. 2.1cm 3.336 gms.	23Dviii		including another indistinct symbol.	Samantarai-pur, Salipur, Mayurbhanj.

PLATE NO.XI.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
61	H.8 / 234	AR. S. 1.7x 1.4cm. 3.175 gm.	23Dix		including another indistinct symbol.	Asurgarh, Chhatrapur, Salipur, Samantarai-pur.
62.	H.10 / 94	AR. Rec. 2x1.4 cm. 3.068 gm.	23Dx		two other indistinct symbols.	Samantarai-pur, Salipur, Chhatrapur, Jharpada.
63.	H.8 / 236	AR. S. 1.3x 1.6cm 3.260 gm.	23Dxi		including two other illegible symbols.	Asurgarh, Salipur.
64.	H.10 / 88	AR. S. 1.8x 2cm. 3.183 gm.	23Dxii		two other indistinct symbols.	Samantarai-pur, Salipur.
65.	H.9 / 175	AR. C. 2cm. 3.073 gm.	23Dxiii		Two other indistinct symbols.	Chhatrapur.
66.	H.9 / 169	AR. C. 1.9cm 3.163 gm.	23Dxiv	extra		Chhatrapur.

PLATE NO.XII.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
67.	H.7/82	AR. S. 1.5x 2cm 2.652 gm.	23Dxv		three other indistinct symbols.	Salipur.
68.	H.3/7	AR. C. 1.8cm 3.202 gm	23Dxvi		including several other indis-tinct punches.	Mayurbhanj.
69.	H.10/82	AR. C. 1.7cm 2.997 gm.	24Ai			Samantarai-pur.
70.	H.7/88	AR. S. 1.6x 1.9 cm. 2.955 gm.	24Bi		including another indistinct symbol.	Salipur.
71.	H.7/147	AR. S. 1.6x 1.7cm 3.163 gm.	24Ci			Salipur
72.	H.7/25	AR. S. 1.7x 1.8cm 2.974 gm.	24Di		Three indistinct minute symbols.	Jharpada.

PLATE NO.XIII.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
73.	H.7/25	AR. S. 1.7x 1.9cm. 3.044 gm.	24Dii		two other indistinct punches.	Salipur.
74.	H.7/65	AR. S. 1.8x 1.6cm 3.213 gm.	24Ei		two other indistinct punches.	Salipur.
75.	H.8/238	AR. S. 1.3x 1.4cm. 3.105 gm.	25Ai			Asurgarh.
76.	H.4/60	AR. S. 2x1.7 cm. 3.296 gm.	26Ai			Mayurbhanj, Salipur, Samantarai-pur, Chhatrapur, Asurgarh.
77.	H.7/68	AR. S. 1.6x 1.8cm. 3.122 gm.	26Aii		including another indistinct symbol.	Salipur, Chhatrapur.
78.	H.7/71	AR. C. 1.8cm. 3.038 gm.	26Aiii		including another indistinct symbol.	Salipur, Samantarai-pur.

PLATE NO.XIV.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
79.	H.7 / 75	AR. S. 1.7x 1.9cm. 2.935 gm.	26Aiv		four other indistinct punches.	Salipur, Samantarai-pur, Chhatrapur.
80.	H.7 / 78	AR. C. 2cm. 3.092 gm.	26Av		three other indistinct punches.	Samantarai-pur, Salipur.
81.	H.10 / 107	AR. S. 1.6x 1.8cm 3.207 gm.	26Bi		including another indistinct punch.	Samantarai-pur.
82.	H.4 / 42	AR. Rec. 1.3x 1.9cm. 3.229 gm.	27Ai		Four indistinct symbols.	Mayurbhanj.
83.	H.9 / 186	AR. S. 1.5x 2cm. 3.232 gm.	27Aii			Chhatrapur.
84.	H.8 / 98	AR. Rec. 1.2x 1.8cm. 3.080 gm.	28Ai	extra	including various indistinct symbols.	Asurgarh.

PLATE NO.XV.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
85.	H.7 / 141	AR. S. 1.7x 1.7cm 3.085 gm.	29Ai		Two minute indistinct symbols.	Salipur.
86.	H.9 / 3	AR. Rec. 2x1.3 cm. 3.159 gm.	30Ai			Chhatrapur.
87.	H.8 / 218	AR. S. 1.2x 1.6cm. 3.030 gm.	31Ai			Asurgarh.
88.	H.7 / 101	AR. S. 1.7x 1.7cm 2.814 gm.	32Ai	extra	Three other indistinct punches.	Salipur, Mayurbhanj, Jagamara, Chhatrapur, Samantarai-pur, Asurgarh.
89.	H.7 / 150	AR. S. 1.6x 1.8cm. 2.962 gm.	32Aii	extra	Three other indistinct punches.	Samantaraipur Asurgarh. Salipur, Mayurbhanj, Chhatrapur.
90.	H.10 / 49	AR. Rec. 1.4x 1.8cm. 3.076 gm.	32Aiii		including various indistinct punches.	Samantarai-pur, Asurgarh.

PLATE NO.XVI.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
91.	H.10 / 54	AR. Rec. 1.2x 2.2cm. 3.033 gm.	33Ai			Samantarai-pur.
92.	H.10 / 30	AR. Rec. 1.4x 1.8cm. 3.231 gm.	34Ai			Samantarai-pur, Chhatrapur, Mayurbhanj, Asurgarh.
93.	H.3 / 12	AR. Rec. 1.1x 1.4cm. 3.236 gm.	34Bi		One indistinct symbol.	Mayurbhanj.
94.	H.10 / 117	AR. Rec. 1.6x 2.5cm. 2.784 gm.	35Ai		two other indistinct punches.	Samantarai-pur.
95.	H.10 / 118	AR Rec. 1.8x 2.3cm. 2.467 gm.	36Ai		including various indistinct symbols.	Samantarai-pur.
96.	H.10 / 119	AR. Rec. 2.9x 1.9cm. 2.694 gm.	37Ai		Various other overlapping symbols.	Samantarai-pur.

PLATE NO.XVII.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
97.	H.10 / 56	AR. C. 2.cm. 3.173 gm.	38Ai		including several indistinct symbols.	Samantarai-pur.
98.	H.10 / 55	AR. Rec. 2.2x 1.2cm. 3.066 gm.	39Ai		three other indistinct punches.	Samantarai-pur.
99.	H.7 / 67	AR. Rec. 2.1x 1.5cm. 2.861 gm.	40Ai		two other indistinct punches.	Salipur.
100.	H.7 / 83	AR. Rec. 2.1x 1.7cm. 2.687 gm.	41Ai	extra	Several other indistinct punches.	Salipur.
101.	H.7 / 157	AR. C. 2.1cm. 2.859 gm.	42Ai			Salipur.
102.	H.7 / 159	AR. C. 2.1cm. 2.906 gm.	43Ai		three other indistinct symbols.	Salipur.

PLATE NO.XVIII.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
103	H.8 / 237	AR. C. 2.3cm. 2.785 gm.	44Ai	including two indistinct symbols	several other overlapping symbols.	Asurgarh.
104	H.8 / 245	AR. Rec. 1.2x2 cm. 2.627 gm.	45Ai		two other indistinct symbols.	Asurgarh.
105	H.8 / 286	AR. Rec. 1.1x 2cm. 3.181 gm.	46Ai	?		Asurgarh.
106	H.7 / 62	AR. S. 1.6x 1.7cm. 3.209 gm.	47Ai		Three indistinct minute symbols.	Salipur, Asurgarh, Chhatrapur, Samantarai-pur.
107	H.7 / 64	AR S 1.5x 1.6cm. 2.829 gm.	47Aii			Salipur.
108	H.9 / 113	AR. Rec. 1.2x 1.6cm. 3.009gm.	47Bi		including another indistinct symbol.	Chhatrapur.

PLATE NO.XIX.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
109	H.6 / 9	AR. S 1.4x 1.6cm. 3.446 gm.	47Ci			Jagamara
110	H.4 / 18	AR. Rec. 1.2x 1.7cm. 3.230 gm.	48Ai		Various indistinct symbols.	Mayurbhanj, Jagamara, Salipur, Asurgarh.
111	H.10 / 47	AR. S. 1.2x 1.5cm 3.263 gm	49Ai			Samantarai-pur.
112	H.8 / 267	AR. S. 1.1x 1.3cm 3.120 gm.	49Bi			Asurgarh.
113	H.9 / 142	AR. S. 1.3x 1.3cm. 3.169 gm.	49Bii			Chhatrapur, Asurgarh, Jagamara, Mayurbhanj.
114	H.4 / 23	AR. Rec. 1 1x 1.8cm. 3.319 gm.	49Biii			Mayurbhanj.

PLATE NO.XX.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
115	H.10 / 44	AR. C. 1.7cm 3.245 gm.	50Ai		including another indistinct punch.	Samantarai-pur, Jagamara, Asurgarh.
116	H.10 / 45	AR. C. 1.6cm. 3.169 gm.	50Aii			Samantarai-pur, Chhatrapur, Asurgarh, Mayurbhanj.
117	H.4 / 21	AR. S. 1.3x 1.4cm. 3.339 gm.	50Aiii		including another indistinct symbol.	Mayurbhanj.
118	H.8 / 273	AR. S. 1.1x 1.2cm. 3.110 gm.	5oBi			Asurgarh.
119	H.4 / 52	AR. C. 1.5cm. 3.245 gm.	50Ci		Two indistinct symbols.	Mayurbhanj, Jagamara.
120	H.8 / 96	AR. C. 1.7cm. 2.695 gm.	51Ai		including several indistinct punches.	Asurgarh.

PLATE NO.XXI.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
121	H.6/15	AR. C. 1.6cm. 3.180 gm.	52Ai		One indistinct minute symbol.	Jagamara, Asurgarh.
122	H.9/174	AR. C. 1.6cm. 3.143 gm.	52Bi		Various indistinct symbols.	Chhatrapur, Samantaraipur.
123	H.4/41	AR. C. 1.5cm. 3.306 gm.	52BII		including another indistinct symbol.	Mayurbhanj, Samantaraipur.
124	H.8/290	AR. S. 1.2x 1.3cm. 3.180 gm.	53Ai			Asurgarh, Samantaraipur, Chhatrapur.
125	H.10/42	AR. S. 1.4x 1.4cm. 3.180 gm.	54Ai			Chhatrapur, Samantaraipur.
126	H.6/13	AR. S. 1.2x 1.2cm. 3.409 gm.	54Bi		including another indistinct symbol.	Jagamara, Mayurbhanj, Asurgarh.

PLATE NO.XXII.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
127	H.8/260	AR. S. 1.1x 1.5cm. 3.300 gm.	54Bii			Asurgarh.
128	H.8/249	AR. S. 1.1x 1.2cm. 3.155 gm.	54Ci			Asurgarh
129	H.8/253	AR. S. 1x1.2 cm. 3.020 gm.	54Cii			Asurgarh.
130	H.9/5	AR. C. 2cm. 3.073 gm.	55Ai	including several indistinct symbols.		Chhatrapur.
131	H.9/25	AR. S. 1.4x 1.5cm. 3.374 gm.	56Ai			Chhatrapur.
132	H.10/1	AR. S. 1.5x 1.5cm. 2.977 gm.	57Ai			Samantarai-pur, Mayurbhanj, Chhatrapur, Asurgarh, Jagamara, Salipur.

PLATE NO.XXIII.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
133	H.10 / 4	AR. S. 1.5x 1.6cm. 3.121 gm.	57Aii		Three indistinct symbols.	Samantarai-pur, Mayurbhanj, Chhatrapur, Asurgarh, Jagamara, Salipur.
134	H.10 / 8	AR. C. 1.8cm. 3.170 gm.	57Aiii			Samantarai-pur, Mayurbhanj, Chhatrapur, Asurgarh, Salipur.
135	H.6 / 19	AR. C. 1.9cm. 3.181 gm.	57Aiv		Two indistinct minute symbols.	Jagamara, Salipur, Chhatrapur, Mayurbhanj, Samantarai-pur, Asurgarh.
136	H.7 / 47	AR. S. 1.6x 1.6cm. 3.173	57Av		including anoyher indistinct symbol.	Salipur, Mayurbhanj, Samantarai-pur, Asurgarh.
137	H.7 / 122	AR. C. 1.8cm. 3.106 gm.	57Avi		including another indistinct symbol	Salipur, Chhatrapur, Mayurbhanj, Samantarai-pur, Asurgarh
138	H.8 / 216	AR. S. 1.5x 1.2cm. 3.085 gm.	57Avii		inzluding two indistinct symbols.	Asurgarh.

PLATE NO.XXIV.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
139	H.8 / 180	AR. S. 1.3x 1.5cm 3.070 gm.	58Ai			Asurgarh.
140	H.8 / 1	AR. S. 1.6x 1.7cm. 3.110 gm.	59Ai			Asurgarh, Salipur, Samantarai-pur.
141	H.8 / 131	AR. Rec. 1.2x 1.6cm. 3.015 gm.	59Aii			Asurgarh, Jharpada.
142	H.8 / 157	AR. S. 1.4x 1.5cm. 3.135 gm.	59Aiii			Asurgarh, Chhatrapur, Jagamara, Mayurbhanj.
143	H.6 / 22	AR. S. 1.3x 1.4cm. 3.374 gm.	59Bi			Jagamara, Asurgarh.
144	H.6 / 25	AR. S. 1.2x 1.2cm. 3.090 gm.	59Bii		One indis-tinct symbol.	Jagamara, Mayurbhanj, Samantarai-pur, Chhatrapur.

PLATE NO.XXV.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
145	H.10/27	AR. C. 1.5cm. 3.221 gm.	59Biii		Two indistinct symbols.	Samantaraipur.
146	H.9/79	AR. C. 1.6cm. 3.046 gm.	59Biv		One indistinct symbol.	Chhatrapur.
147	H.9/29	AR. Rec. 1.2x 1.6cm. 3.282 gm.	59Ci			Chhatrapur, Salipur, Samantaraipur, Mayurbhanj, Jagamara, Asurgarh.
148	H.9/54	AR. S. 1.3x 1.3cm. 3.188 gm.	59Cii			Chhatrapur, Samantaraipur, Mayurbhanj, Jagamara, Asurgarh.
149	H.9/46	AR. C. 1.5cm. 3.209 gm.	59Di			Chhatrapur, Samantaraipur, Mayurbhanj, Jagamara, Asurgarh.
150	H.8/56	AR. S. 1.2x 1.3cm. 3.233 gm.	59Dii		Several indistinct symbols.	Asurgarh.

PLATE NO.XXVI.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
151	H.6/23	AR. C. 1.6cm. 3.302 gm.	59Diii			Jagamara.
152	H.9/77	AR. Rec. 1.3x 1.6cm. 3.163 gm.	59Div			Chhatrapur.
153	H.9/60	AR. S. 1.2x 1.2cm. 3.339 gm.	59Ei			Chhatrapur, Mayurbhanj, Asurgarh.
154	H.9/75	AR. Rec. 1.1x 1.4cm. 2.985 gm.	59Eii			Chhatrapur, Asurgarh, Mayurbhanj.
155	H.4/39	AR. S. 1.3x 1.5cm. 3.099 gm.	59Fi			Mayurbhanj.
156	H.3/4	AR. S. 1.2x 1.2cm. 3.039 gm.	59Gi			Mayurbhanj, Jagamara, Asurgarh.

PLATE NO.XXVII.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
57	H.9/57	AR. S. 1.4x 1.5cm. 3.174 gm.	59Hi			Chhatrapur, Asurgarh.
158	H.9/62	AR S. 1.3x 1.4cm. 2.649 gm.	59Hii			Chhatrapur.
159	H.6/24	AR. S. 1.4x 1.6cm. 3.201 gm.	59Hiii			Jagamara, Chhatrapur, Mayurbhanj, Samantarai-pur, Asurgarh.
160	H.9/63	AR. C. 1.7cm. 3.353 gm.	59Hiv			Chhatrapur, Asurgarh.
161	H.9/67	AR. C. 1.7cm. 2.681 gm.	59Hv			Chhatrapur.
162	H.9/72	AR. Rec. 1.2x 1.6cm. 3.231 gm.	59Hvi		including another indistinct symbol.	Chhatrapur, Mayurbhanj, Samantarai-pur, Asurgarh.

PLATE No. XXVIII.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
163	H.10 / 26	AR. C. 1.5cm. 3.096 gm.	59Hvii		including another indistinct symbol.	Samantaraipur, Mayurbhanj, Chhatrapur, Asurgarh.
164	H.8 / 145	AR. S. 1.3x 1.1cm. 3.036 gm.	59Hviii			Asurgarh.
165	H.9 / 81	AR. S. 1.3x 1.4cm. 2.811 gm.	59Hix			Chhatrapur.
166	H.4 / 7	AR. Rec. 1.2x 1.6cm. 3.470 gm.	59Hx			Mayurbhanj.
167	H.8 / 103	AR. S. 1.1x 1.2cm. 3.190 gm.	59Hxi			Asurgarh.
168	H.8 / 104	AR. S. 1.1x 1.2cm. 3.234 gm.	59Hxii			Asurgarh.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
169	H.8/283	AR. S. 1.4x 1.6cm. 3.086 gm.	60Ai		One indistinct symbol	Asurgarh, Mayurbhanj, Jagamara, Chhatrapur.
170	H.8/295	AR. S. 1.1x 1.3cm. 3.300 gm.	61Ai			Asurgarh.
171	H.8/301	AR. S. 1.2x 1.2cm. 3.110 gm.	62Ai		including another indistinct symbol.	Asurgarh.
172	H.3/2	AR. S. 1x1.1 cm. 3.405 gm.	63Ai			Mayurbhanj, Asurgarh.
173	H.10/41	AR. Rec. 1.3x 1.7cm. 3.254 gm.	64Ai			Samantarai-pur, Asurgarh.
174	H.9/189	AR. Rec. 1.2x 1.6cm. 3.075 gm.	65Ai		Not distinct.	Chhatrapur, Asurgarh, Mayurbhanj.

PLATE NO.XXX.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
175	H.9 / 190	AR. S. 1.3x 1.4cm. 3.336 gm.	66Bi			Chhatrapur.
176	H.6 / 8	AR. Rec. 1.1x 1.6cm. 3.349 gm.	66Ci			Jagamara, Asurgarh.
177	H.6 / 12	AR. Rec. 1.2x 1.6cm. 3.376 gm.	67Ai		including another indistinct symbol.	Jagamara.
178	H.8 / 305	AR. S. 1.2x 1.3cm. 3.300 gm.	68Ai			Asurgarh.

PLATE NO. XXXI.

VARIETIES OF OBVERSE SYMBOLS FOUND ON THE LOCAL AND IMPERIAL SILVER PUNCH-MARKED COINS

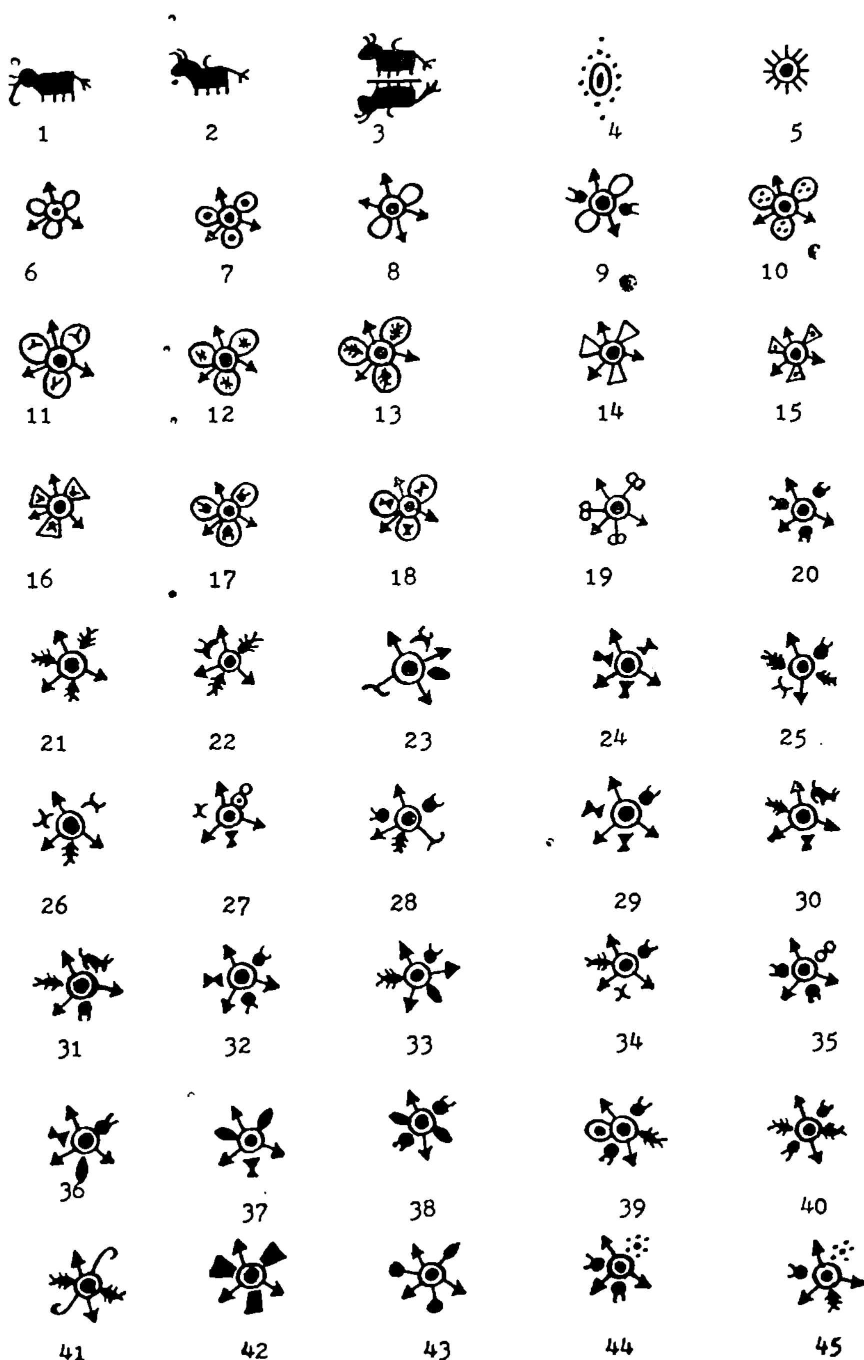


PLATE NO.XXXII.


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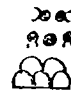

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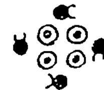

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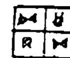

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PLATE NO. XXXIII.


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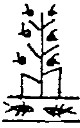

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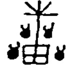

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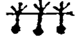

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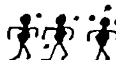
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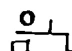
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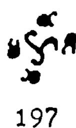
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PLATE NO. XXXIV.


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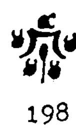

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PLATE NO.XXXV.

REVERSE SYMBOLS ON IMPERIAL PUNCH MARKED COINS

199 200 201 202 203 204 205 206 207

208 209 210 211 212 213 214 215 216

217 218 219 220 221 222 223 224 225

226 227 228 229 230 231 232 233 234

235 236 237 238 239 240 241 242 243

244 245 246 247 248 249 250 251 252

253 254 255 256 257 258 259 260 261

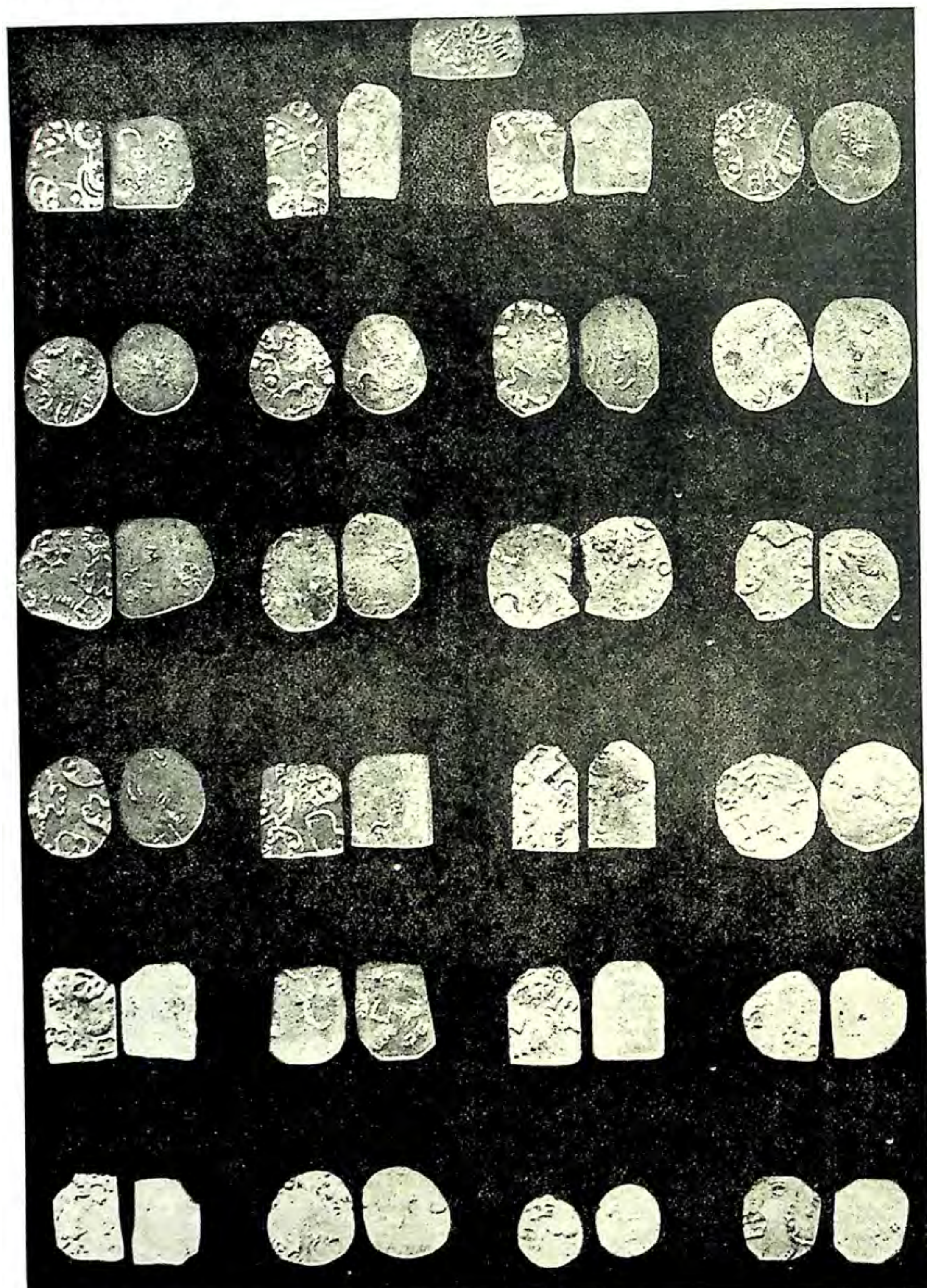
262 263 264 265 266 267 268 269 270

271 272 273 274 275 276 277 278 279

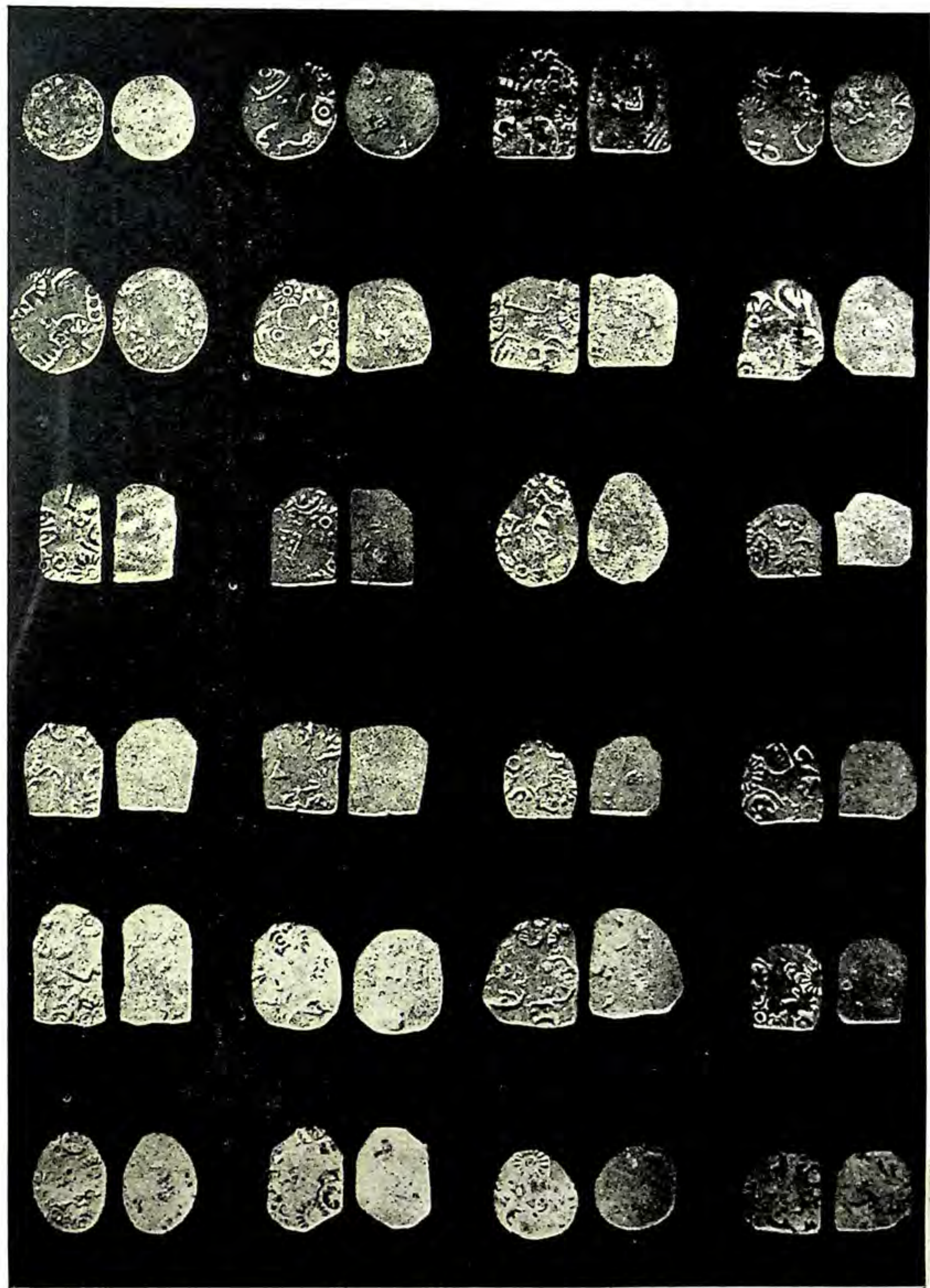
280 281 282 283 284 285 286 287 288

289 290 291

PLATE No. XXXVI

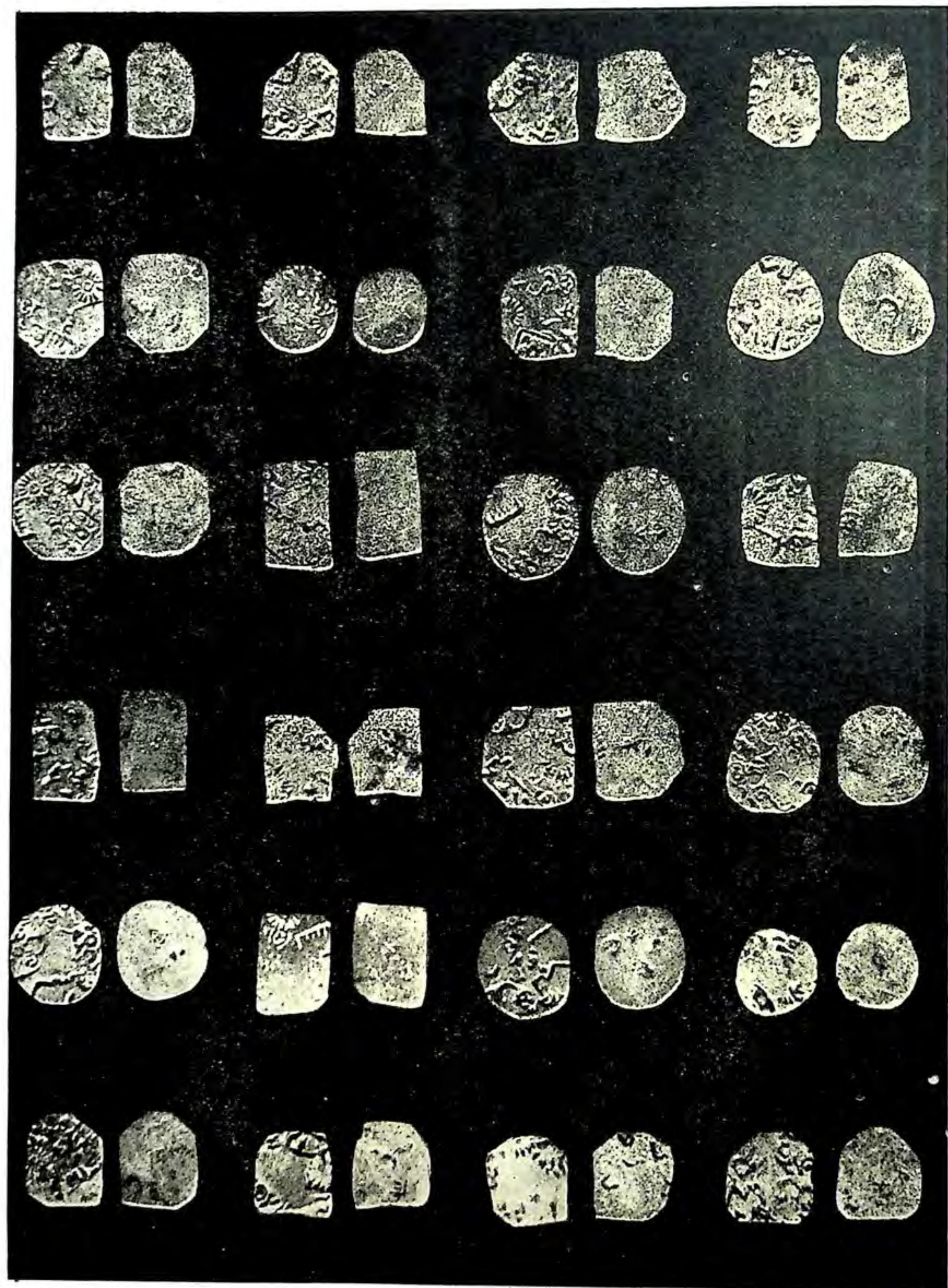


SILVER PUNCHMARKED COINS . NOS. 1..25.

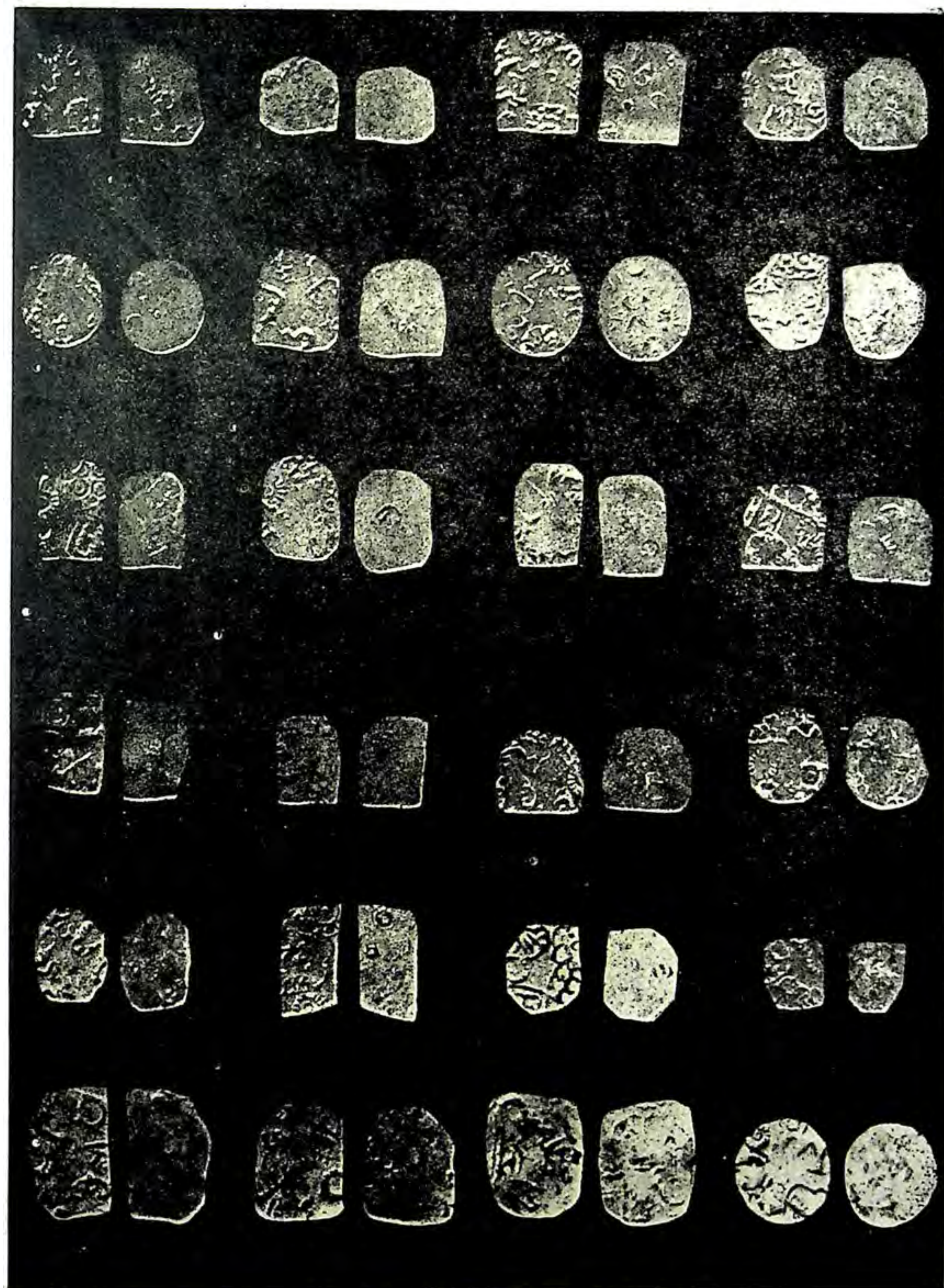


SILVER PUNCHMARKED COINS . NOS. 26 . . 49.

PLATE No. XXXVIII



SILVER PUNCHMARKED COINS . NOS. 50 - 73.



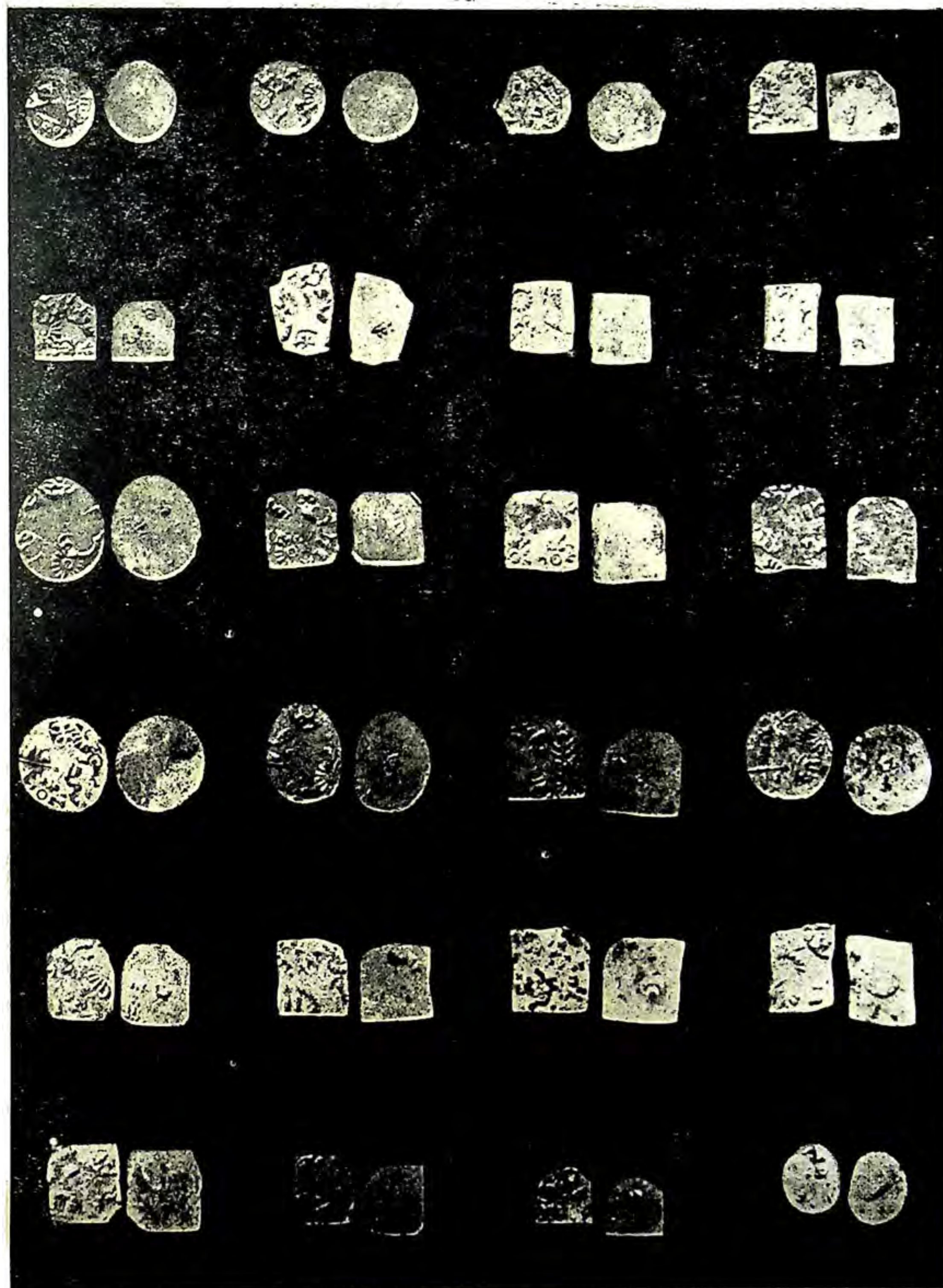
SILVER PUNCHMARKED COINS . NOS. 74..97

PLATE No. XL



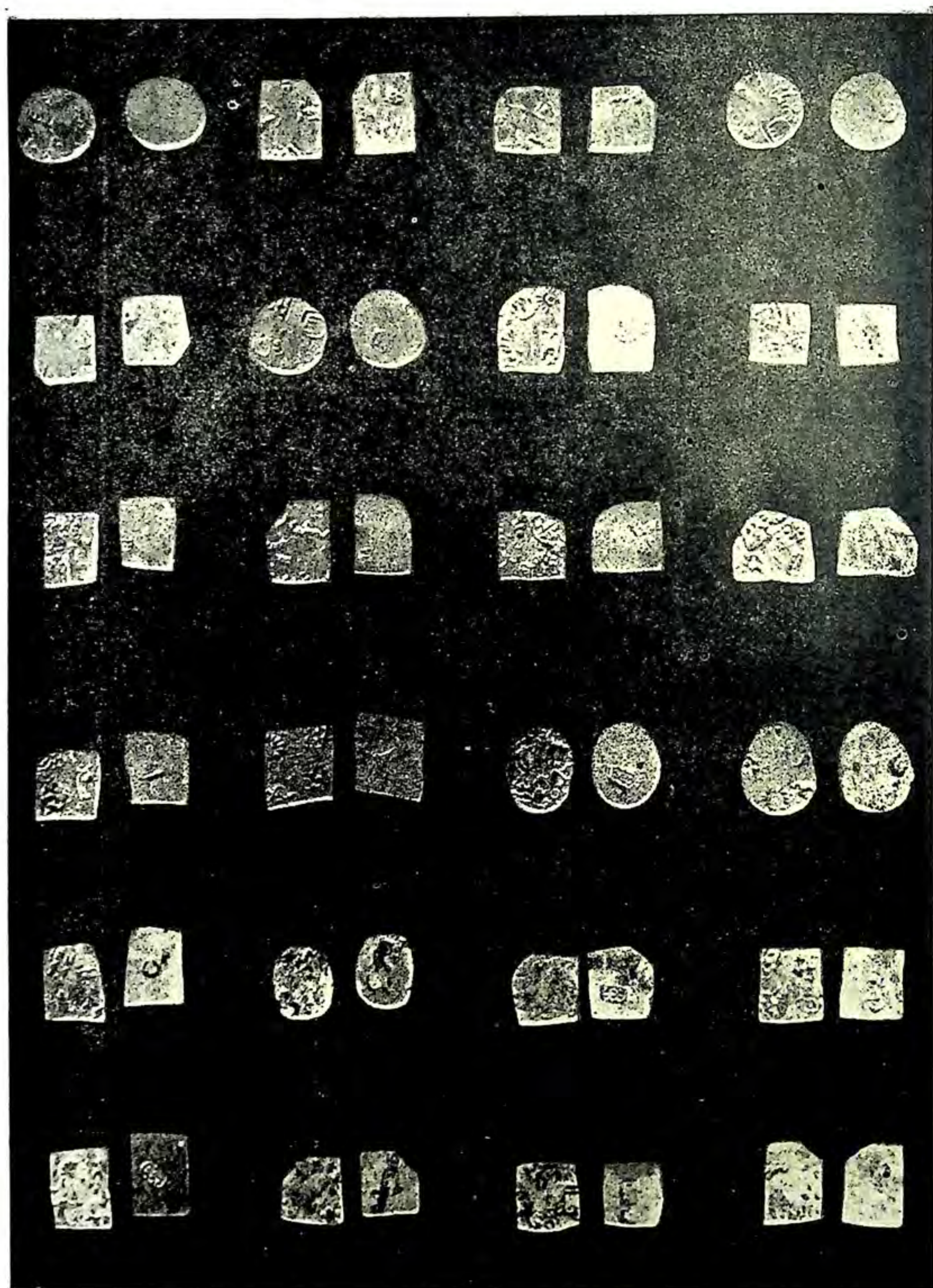
SILVER PUNCHMARKED COINS . NOS. 98—121

PLATE No. XLI



SILVER PUNCHMARKED COINS . NOS. 122 . 145.

PLATE No. XLII



SILVER PUNCHMARKED COINS . NOS. 146 : . 169.

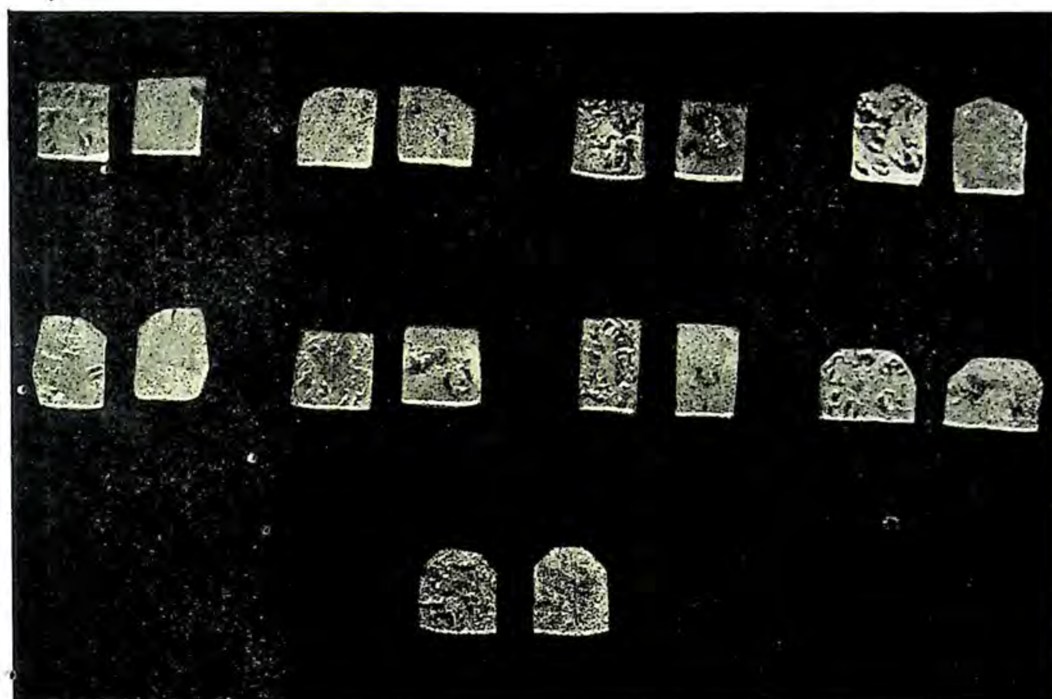


FIG. 1. SILVER PUNCHMARKED COINS . NOS. 170. . 178..



FIG. 2. KUSHANA GOLD COINS . NOS. 1. .6,

PLATE No. XLIV

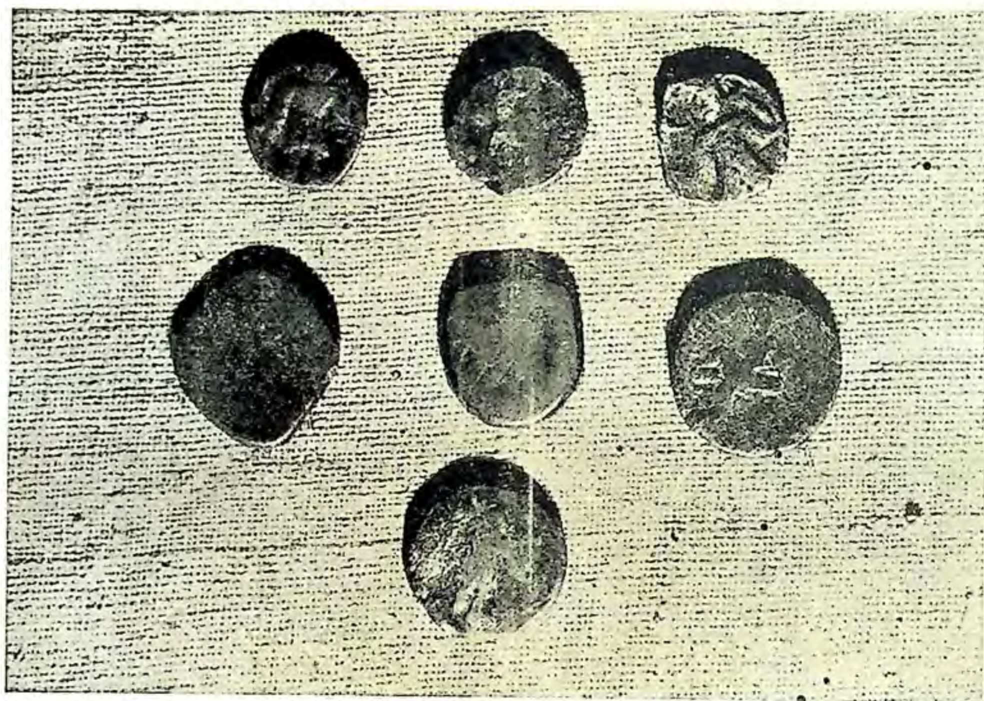


FIG. 1. KUSHANA COPPER COINS . OBVERSE.



FIG. 2. KUSHANA COPPER COINS . REVERSE.



FIG. 1. PURI KUSHANA COPPER COINS . OBVERSE

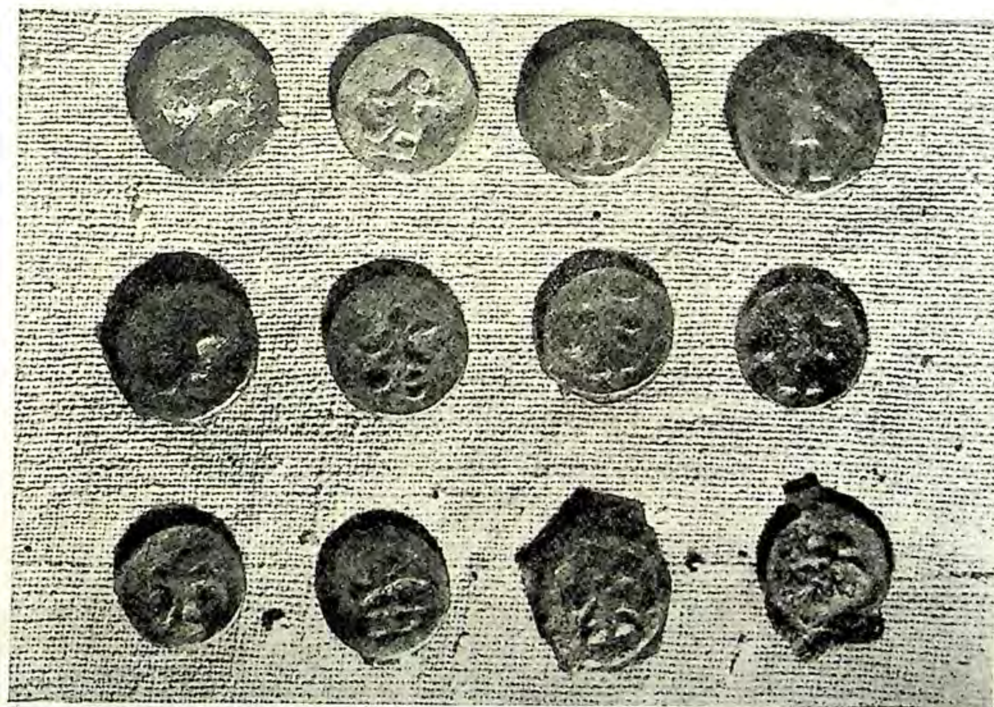


FIG. 2. PURI KUSHANA COPPER COINS . REVERSE

PLATE No. XLVI



FIG. 1. PURI KUSHANA COPPER COINS . OBVERSE



FIG. 2. PURI KUSHANA COPPER COINS . REVERSE

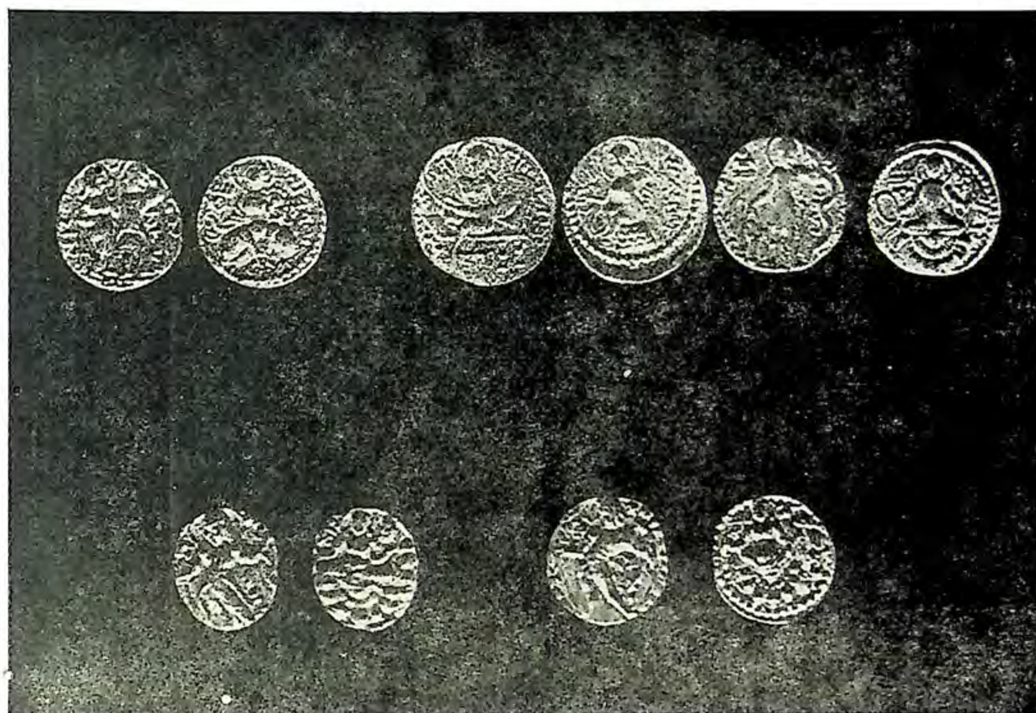


FIG. 1. GUPTA GOLD COINS



GOLD COINS OF CHANDRAGUPTA . II
FIG. 2. OBVERSE. FIG. 3. REVERSE.

PLATE No. XLVIII

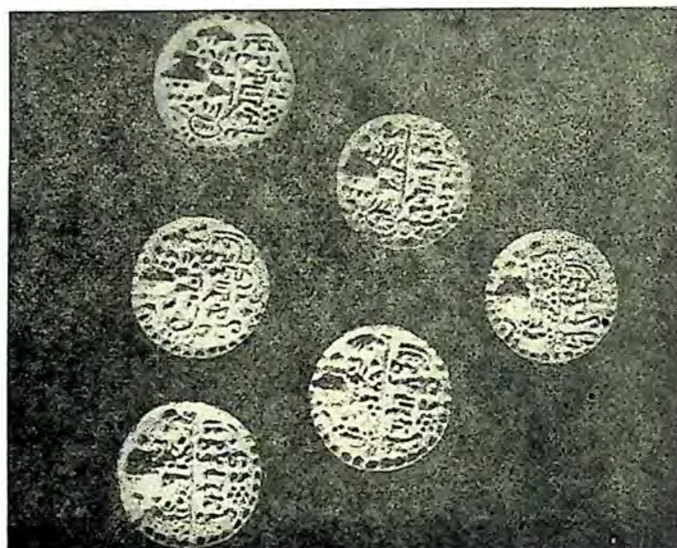


FIG. 1. SARABHAPURIYA GOLD COINS

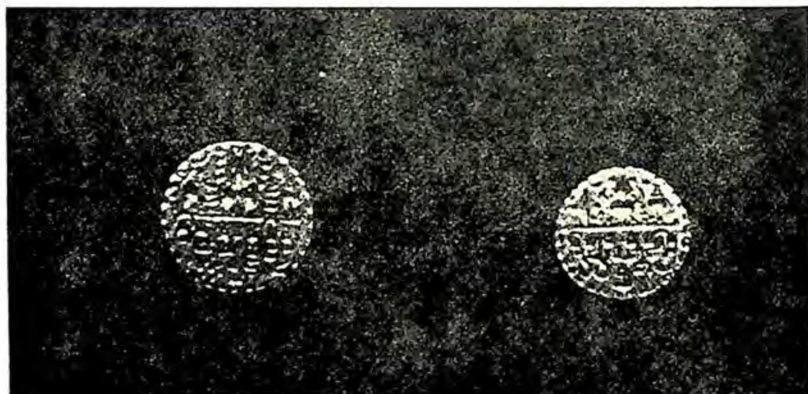


FIG. 2. SARABHAPURIYA GOLD COINS



FIG. 1. COINS OF SRI-NANDA

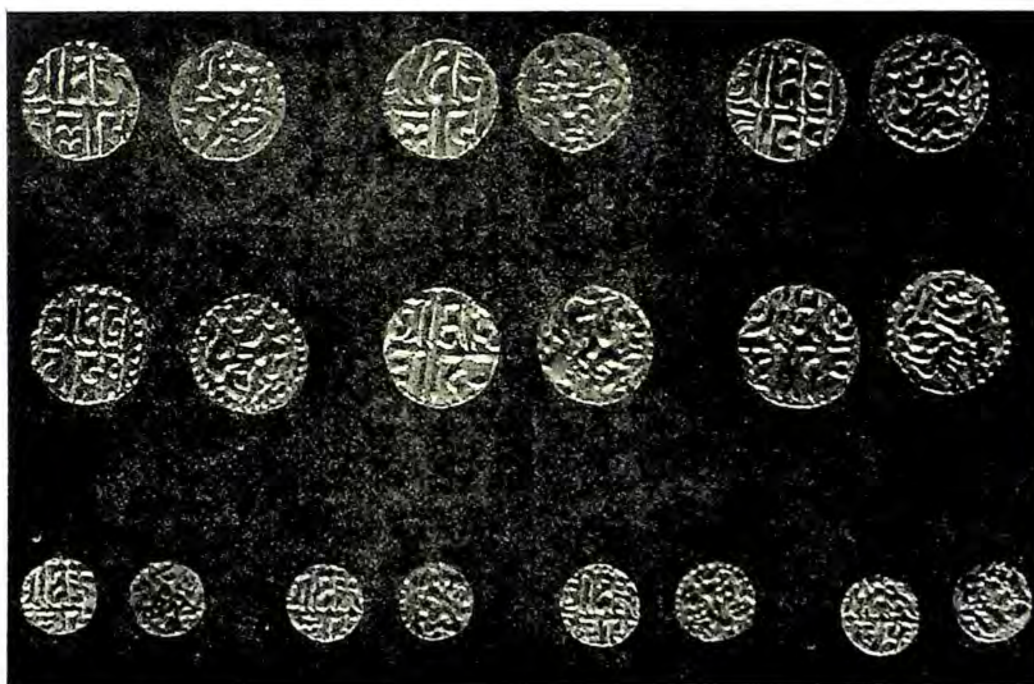


FIG. 2. KALACHURI GOLD COINS

PLATE No L

FIG. 1. GOLD COINS OF NAGAS OF CHAKRAKOTTA



FIG. 2. GAJAPATI PAGODA

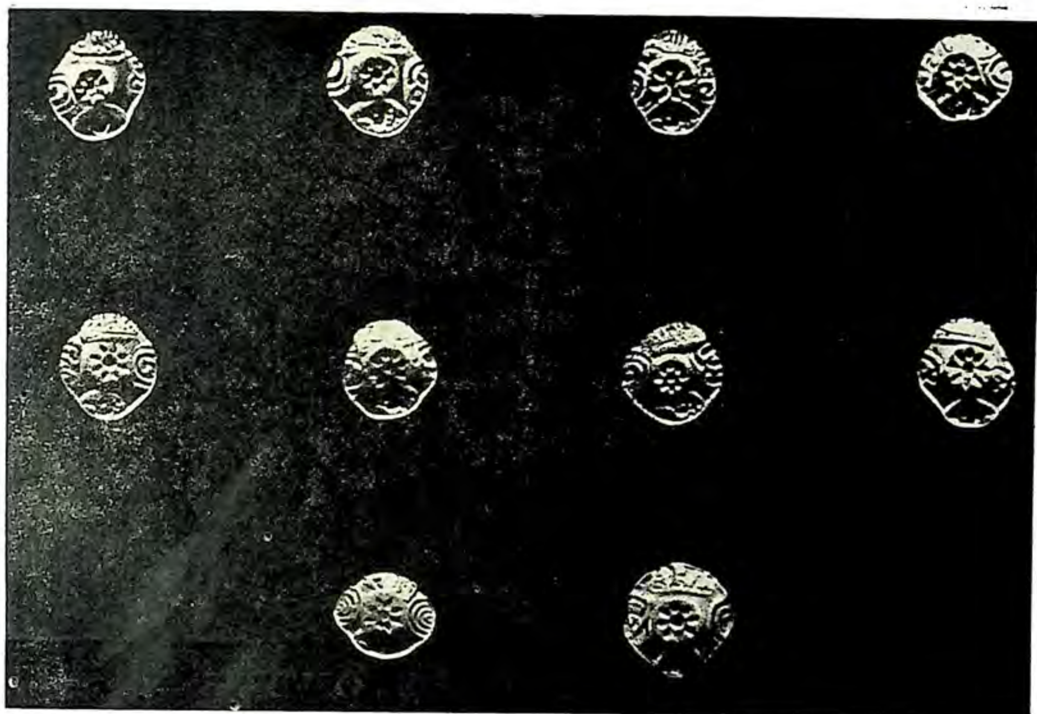


FIG. 1 YADAVA COINS



FIG. 2. UDAYAGIRI PANEL



FIG. 1. GANGA FANAMS . OBVERSE



FIG. 2. GANGA FANAMS . REVERSE

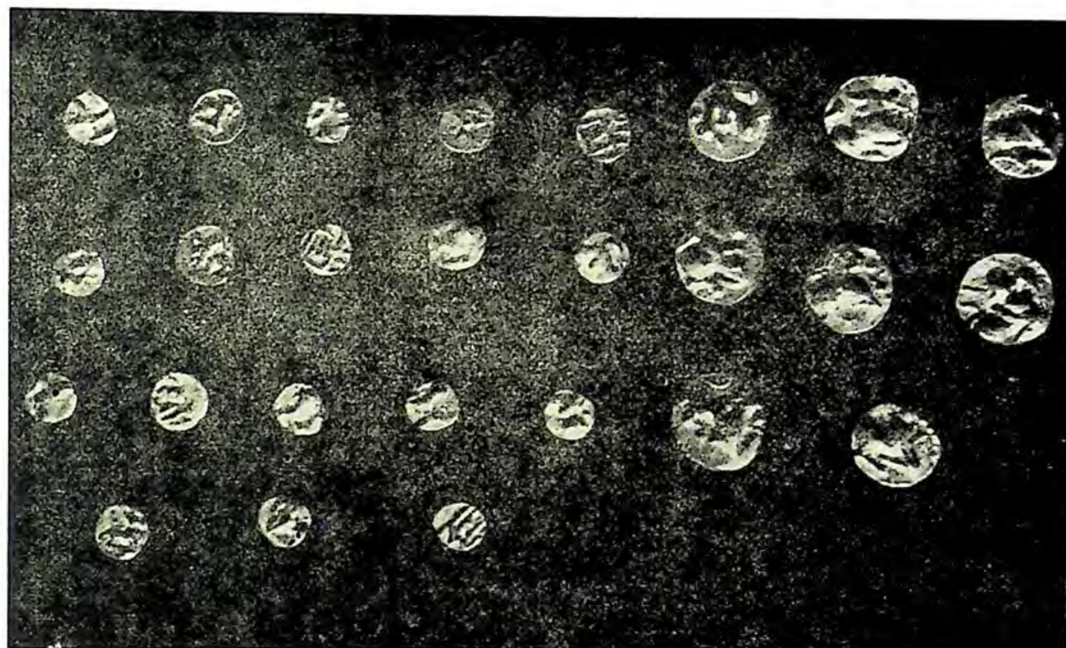


FIG. 1. GANGA FANAMS . OBVERSE

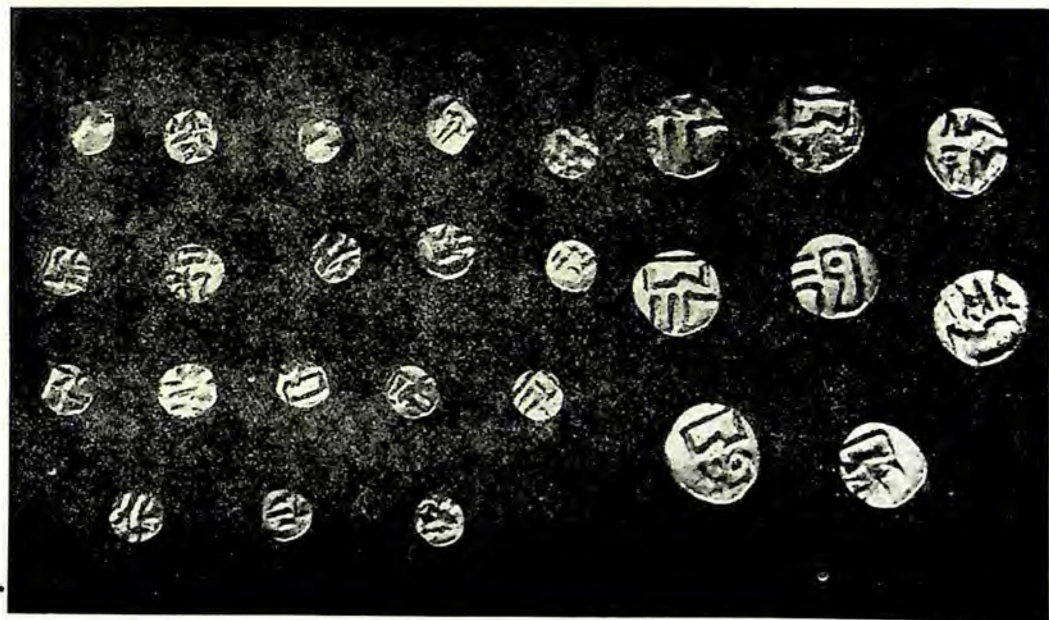


FIG. 2. GANGA FANAMS. REVERSE

PLATE No. LIV



FIG. 1. SOUTH INDIAN COINS

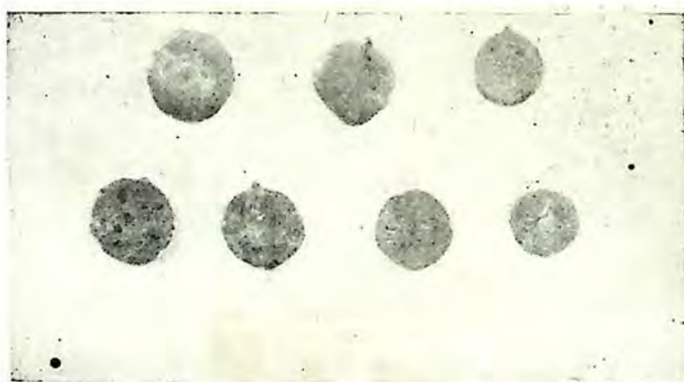
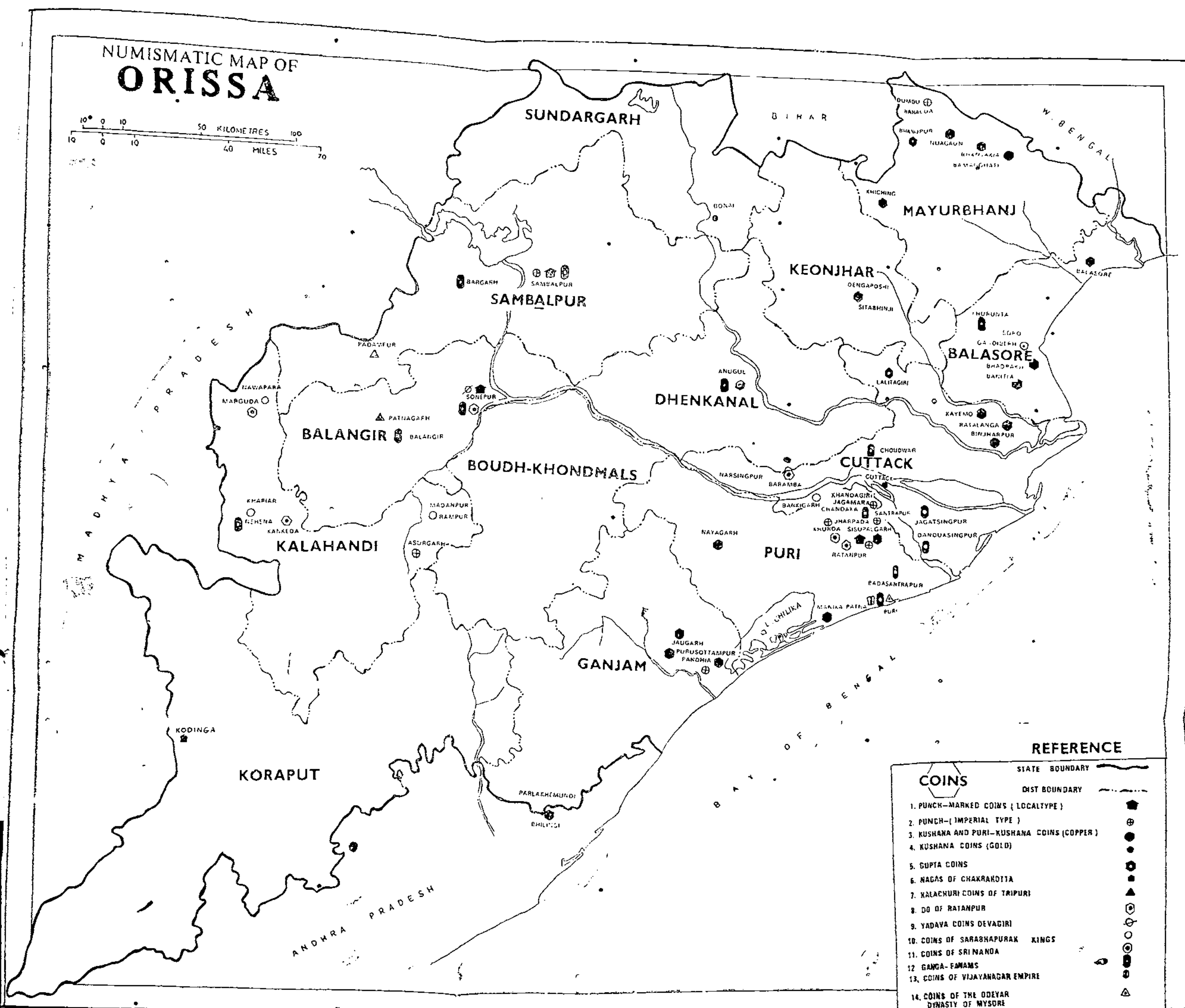


FIG. 2. UNSTAMPED COINS


NUMISMATIC MAP OF
ORISSA
KILOMETRES
MILES
SUNDARGARH
BIHAR
W. BENGAL
MAYURBHANJ
KEONJHAR
SAMBALPUR
BARGARH
BONAI
BALASORE
DHENKANAL
ANUGUL
LALITAGIRI
SONEPUR
PATNAGARH
BALANGIR
BOUDH-KHONDMALS
CUTTACK
CHOUDWAR
NARSINGPUR
BARAMBA
JAGATSINGPUR
KALAHANDI
PURI
NAYAGARH
RATANPUR
MANIKA PATNA
CHILIKA
GANJAM
JAUGARH
PURUSOTTAMPUR
KODINGA
KORAPUT
PARLAKHEMUNDI
MADHYA PRADESH
ANDHRA PRADESH
BAY OF BENGAL
REFERENCE
STATE BOUNDARY
DIST BOUNDARY
COINS
1. PUNCH-MARKED COINS (LOCALTYPE)
2. PUNCH-(IMPERIAL TYPE)
3. KUSHANA AND PURI-KUSHANA COINS (COPPER)
4. KUSHANA COINS (GOLD)
5. GUPTA COINS
6. NAGAS OF CHAKRAKOTTA
7. KALACHURI COINS OF TRIPURI
8. DO OF RATANPUR
9. YADAVA COINS DEVAGIRI
10. COINS OF SARABHAPURAK KINGS
11. COINS OF SRI NANDA
12 GANGA-FANAMS
13. COINS OF VIJAYANAGAR EMPIRE
14. COINS OF THE ODEYAR DYNASTY OF MYSORE

THE AUTHORESS

Dr. (Mrs) Snigdha Tripathy (born, April, 1945) obtained the degrees of Master of Arts and Ph. D from the Utkal University in 1967 and 1983 respectively. She has been working as Epigraphist in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar for the last 16 years. She has to her credit a number of research papers published in various research journals of the country on epigraphic and numismatic studies. She has been an active member of the Epigraphical Society of India, Mysore and Numismatic Society of India, Varanasi. She is also one of the founder-members of the Orissa Research Society, Bhubaneswar, a leading research organisation in the state of Orissa and is a co-editor of the Journal of the Orissa Research Society. One of her publications include the Inscriptions of Orissa, Vol. VI, compiled and edited for the Orissa State Museum. Presently she has taken up editing of the two volumes of Inscriptions of Orissa (5th to 12th century A D.), for the Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi. She is also carrying on research on Palaeograyhy of Orissan Inscriptions and study of Historical Geography of Ancient Orissa.

